# Daily Report

# East Europe

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*FBIS-EEU-88-099* *23 May 1988*

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### Lukanov Talks With Aleksey Antonov in Moscow

*AU2105125888 Sofia BTA in English*
*2003 GMT 20 May 88*

["Bulgaria, USSR: Improvement of Cooperation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Moscow, May 20 (BTA corr.)—A meeting was held today between Mr Andrey Lukanov, alternate member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and minister of Foreign Economic Relations of Bulgaria, and Mr Aleksey Antonov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, co-chairmen of the Bulgaro-Soviet Commission for Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation.

They discussed measures on the implementation of the agreements on certain questions of Bulgaro-Soviet economic and techno-scientific cooperation, which have been achieved in the talks between the chairmen of the Councils of Ministers of Bulgaria and the USSR in April and October 1987, and on the implementation of the resolutions of the 31st session of the intergovernmental commission.

The two sides discussed also the question of the restructuring of the organization and structure of the activity of the intergovernmental commission.

### Meets Maslyukov, Shcherbina

*AU2105170688 Sofia BTA in English*
*1638 GMT 21 May 88*

["Bulgaria-USSR: Topical Cooperation Issues"—BTA headline]

[Text] Moscow, May 21 (BTA)—Mr Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and minister of foreign economic relations of Bulgaria, who visited Moscow for the session of the Executive Committee of the CMEA, met Mr Yuriy Maslyukov, candidate member of the Politburo of the CC of the CPSU, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and Chairman of the State Planning Committee of the USSR, Mr Lev Voronin, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply, and Mr Boris Shcherbina, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Bureau of the Council of Ministers for the Fuel-Power Complex.

The meetings discussed some topical issues of the cooperation between the two countries, the deepening of socialist integration between the two country and the perfection of the structure of interaction.

### Government Announces Workday Change

*AU2005145888 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 May 88 p 2*

[Text] In accordance with the Council of Ministers decision, which is aimed at creating better conditions for using rest days and maintaining the rhythm of production in 1988, for those working a 5-day shift 23 May (Monday) will be a rest day, while 21 May (Saturday) will be a working day.

### Citizens Instructed To Help With Harvest

*AU2105175788 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 21 May 88*

[Text] The Council of Ministers discussed the question of harvesting the crops according to schedule and without delay, and fully using the harvest. A good harvest is expected, and the Council of Ministers adopted a decision to set up the necessary organization for harvesting.

The Council of Ministers instructed the National Agro-Industrial Union Association and the executive committees of the oblast and municipal BCP committees to provide full assistance and specific help to the agricultural brigades, agro-industrial complexes, and other agricultural organization to ensure the timely harvesting of the crops and utilization of the harvest.

The Permanent Board of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, the National Council of the Fatherland Front, the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, and the Komsomol Central Committee were asked to assist in encouraging the mass participation of workers, employees, students, schoolchildren, and the entire populace in collecting the harvest according to schedule and without delay.

### Leaders' Public Appearances 14-20 May

AU2105140288 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its newcasts, the Sofia press, and BTA during the 14-20 May monitoring period report the following public appearances of Bulgarian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, received in Sofia on 20 May Tran Duc Luong, deputy chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers. (Sofia BTA in English 1735 GMT 20 May 88)

Chudomir Aleksandrov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, received a working group from the CPSU Central Committee led by Vladimir Babichev that visited Bulgaria from 10 through 14 May. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 May 88 p 2) (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 14 May 88) Aleksandrov also made a working visit to Moscow from 13 through 15 May. (Sofia BTA in English 1553 GMT 15 May 88)

Milko Balev, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, accompanied the visiting secretary general of the Yemeni Socialist Party, 'Ali Salim al-Bid, on a tour of Plovdiv on 14 May. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 14 May 88) He saw off 'Ali Salim al-Bid from Sofia Airport on 16 May. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0800 GMT 16 May 88) In Sofia on 17 May Balev received Pierre Cornillon, secretary general of the Interparliamentary Union. (Sofia BTA in English 1741 GMT 17 May 88)

Ognyan Doynov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, attended the reception of SRV deputy premier Tran Duc Luong by Premier Atanasov in Sofia on 20 May. (Sofia BTA in English 1735 GMT 20 May 88)

Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, attended a festive concert in the Central Army Club in Sofia on the evening of 15 May to mark the 33d anniversary of the signing of the Warsaw Pact. (Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 16 May 88 pp 1 and 3)

Pencho Kubadinski, member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, returned to Beijing on 20 May from his tour of the PRC provinces at the head of a Fatherland Front delegation. (Sofia BTA in English 0716 GMT 20 May 88)

Stanko Todorov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the National Assembly, who led a National Assembly delegation visiting the CSSR, met in Prague with Alois Indra, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly. (Sofia BTA in English 0705 GMT 17 May 88) Todorov and his delegation returned from Prague to Sofia on 20 May. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 20 May 88) Yordan Yotov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, met in Sofia with an Israeli Communist party delegation led by Zaki Kharkabi that visited Bulgaria from 16 through 20 May. (Sofia BTA in English 1548 GMT 20 May 88)

Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign economic relations, held talks on cooperation in Moscow on 20 May with Aleksey Antonov, deputy secretary of the USSR Council of Ministers. (Sofia BTA in English 2003 GMT 20 May 88)

Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, also saw off 'Ali Salim al-Bid at Sofia Airport on 16 May. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0800 GMT 16 May 88) Stanishev also received the Israeli Communist Party delegation led by Zaki Qarkabi that ended its visit on 20 May. (Sofia BTA in English 1548 GMT 20 May 88)

Vasil Tsanov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, received a delegation of the FRG Bundestag members of the Green Party, led by Ms Christa Wenegerts, during their visit to Bulgaria from 12 through 15 May. (Sofia BTA in English 1734 GMT 15 May 88)

## Media Reporting of MSZMP Conference

LD2305111788 [Editorial Report] Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak has reported factually on the conclusion of the MSZMP National Conference without giving any commentary. In its 0000 GMT and 0200 GMT newscasts, the radio reports on CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's congratulations message to newly elected MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz. Reporting on the MSZMP conference's concluding document, Prague's 0000 GMT and 0200 GMT newscasts say:

"The document approved at the conference stresses the need to continue in a coordinated and rapid way the process of social and economic reform, with the starting point of the large-scale reforms being the renewal of the party activity, the strengthening of the political character of its activity, and the observation of the principle of democratic centralism. The section of the document devoted to economic issues says that the fundamental condition for the stabilization of the Hungarian economy is to halt the further growth of foreign indebtedness and to restore the internal financial balance".

In its 0400 GMT newscast on 23 May, Prague Domestic Service in Czech reports that more than one-third of the new MSZMP Central Committee members are new. It says that 8 members of the previous Politburo have "departed," and that the Politburo has been reduced to 11 members.

Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak at 0600 GMT on 23 May, in a dispatch from Budapest, says that the Hungarian press for 23 May has published a statement adopted at the MSZMP conference which "stresses the leading role of the party, the renewal of its activity in the current situation, and socialist pluralism as a way of strengthening the people's power, where deepening democracy will mean at the same time the improvement of the socialist social system."

## Jakes Leaves for Visit to PRC, DPRK, Mongolia

*LD2205142788 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1400 GMT 22 May 88*

[Text] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, has today left for an official, friendly visit of the PRC, the DPRK and the Mongolian People's Republic, which is taking place at the invitation of the highest party representatives of these countries. Milos Jakes is being accompanied by Ladislav Adamec, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and deputy federal prime minister; Jaroslav Molek and Michal Stefanak, departmental heads of the CPCZ Central Committee; Jaromir Johanes, first deputy minister of foreign affairs; and Jiri Nemec, deputy minister of foreign trade.

At Ruzyne Airport in Prague Milos Jakes and his entourage was seen off by members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Vasil Bilak, Karel Hoffmann, Alois Indra and Jozef Lenart, member of the Secretariat of the CPCZ Central Committee, Miroslav Stepan, and other officials.

## More on Bulgarian Todorov-Led Delegation Visit

### Holds Talks With Indra 16 May

*AU2005145988 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 May 88 pp 1,2*

[CTK report: "Talks With Deputies from the Bulgarian People's Republic"]

[Text] Prague—A delegation of the National Assembly of the Bulgarian People's Republic led by Stanko Todorov, chairman of the assembly and member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, arrived for an official friendly visit in Prague on Monday [16 May].

At Ruzyne Airport the Bulgarian deputies were greeted by Alois Indra, chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, at whose invitation the visit is taking place, and other officials.

In the afternoon, the Bulgarian deputies were received by Alois Indra.

By way of introduction Alois Indra stressed that the CPCZ leadership, the CSSR National Front, and the CSSR Government highly assess the current level of the relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries. Decisive for their further development are the conclusions of the recent talks between the highest representatives of the CSSR and the Bulgarian People's Republic, Milos Jakes and Todor Zhivkov. The Federal Assembly, too, wants to contribute its share to the development of these relations, especially by expanding working contacts that would enable a more intensive exchange of experiences between individual committees and between the staffs of the two parliaments.

Stanko Todorov briefly informed the representatives of the CSSR Federal Assembly about the situation in his country in the wake of the BCP National Conference, which approved a program of the further building of socialism in the Bulgarian People's Republic, that is, a program of comprehensively restructuring society while placing maximum stress on the principles of self-management. The codification of these principles in legal norms places great demands on the legislative work of the National Assembly of the Bulgarian People's Republic. Changes in the management and structure of the economy, Stanko Todorov went on to say, give preference to branches applying to the utmost the advances of modern science and technology and having prerequisites for efficient integration in the international division of labor. We connect restructuring also with the strengthening of democracy, with the development of a creative

personality, and with the solution of topical social and ecological issues. An improvement of the political system is also being prepared. After the adoption of a new constitution, extensive changes will also be made in the structure and activities of the supreme Bulgarian legislative body. We are succeeding, on the whole, in meeting the targets of the Ninth 5-Year Plan in the new economic conditions, Stanko Todorov said, and cited specific examples of growth in production, labor productivity, and public consumption. He termed Czechoslovak-Bulgarian relations as very positive, emphasizing, in particular, new forms of economic cooperation such as the setting up of direct links and joint enterprises.

Alois Indra, too, familiarized the guests with the aims of comprehensive restructuring in Czechoslovakia. We very attentively follow the experiences of the fraternal socialist countries, he said, drawing lessons from the good ones, but—at the same time—paying heed to problems with which the reforms are connected. We must proceed vigorously and boldly in restructuring, he stressed, but a certain amount of prudence is also necessary. However, we have accelerated some steps compared with the original plans, as is also borne out by the recent changes in the arrangement of central agencies, changes that should result in a considerable reduction of administrative work. The introduction of thorough economic accountability, self-financing, and self-management—principles by which also restructuring in Bulgaria is guided—will be a very long and, basically, continuous process, which, naturally, will not be spared conflicts. It would be harmful to indulge in illusions about the immediate, "panacean" effect of the new economic conditions and tools; responsible and quality work at all levels will remain at the root of everything, as ever. The fact that we are not succeeding in fully meeting the targets of the Eighth 5-Year Plan is a great impediment to the speedy implementation of restructuring, Alois Indra noted. He also spoke about measures aimed at further deepening socialist democracy.

The chairmen of the two parliaments agreed in their views on the current international political problems. They emphasized, in particular, the necessity of continuing the process of disarmament. They appreciated the significance for the situation in Europe of the Czechoslovak proposal to create a zone of confidence, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line dividing the Warsaw Pact and NATO states and of the efforts of the Bulgarian People's Republic to turn the Balkan peninsula into a zone of peace and cooperation, free of nuclear arms.

Stanko Todorov invited a delegation of the CSSR Federal Assembly, headed by its chairman, to visit Bulgaria. The invitation was accepted with thanks.

The cordial, friendly conversation was attended by Jan Marko, Vladimir Vedra, Jan Janik, Bohuslav Kucera, Zbynek Zalman, and Jozef Simuth, deputy chairmen of the CSSR Federal Assembly.

Toncho Chakarov, ambassador of the Bulgarian People's Republic to the CSSR, was also present.

### Todorov Gives Interview, Departs

*LD2005212388 Prague CTK in English 1328 GMT 20 May 88*

[Text] Prague May 20 (CTK)—The visit to Czechoslovakia by a delegation of the Bulgarian National Assembly on May 16-20 has been characterized as very significant and useful by head of the delegation, Bulgarian National Assembly Chairman Stanko Todorov.

In an interview with CTK today he underlined the necessity to change the existing contacts between the two countries' parliaments into a business-like cooperation.

In this connection he stated that the new stage in the development of socialist economic integration requires that the parliaments of the Warsaw Treaty member states coordinate their legislative activity in order to bring closer the legal bases of economic cooperation since the existing differences pose obstacles to the development of modern forms of cooperation.

Stanko Todorov underlined the significance of a long-term program of Bulgarian-Czechoslovak economic and scientific-technological cooperation signed in Sofia April 20 and said that the two parliaments have an important mission in exerting pressure on the ministries to make them implement concrete tasks following from the program.

The delegation of the Bulgarian National Assembly today ended the official friendly visit to Czechoslovakia and left for home.

The guests were seen off at Prague airport by deputy chairmen of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Jan Marko, Vladimir Vedra and Jan Janik, and other officials.

### Further Report

*LD2005211088 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 20 May 88*

[Text] Members of the Bulgarian National Assembly delegation, led by Chairman Stanko Todorov, member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee, ended their visit to Czechoslovakia today. Before his departure Stanko Todorov gave the following interview to our reporter, Jiri Cebrovsky:

[Begin recording] [Cebrovsky] The first question was devoted to the activity and the role of the parliaments in bilateral relations and the possibilities and long-term prospects for future cooperation. Comrade Stanko Todorov had this to say on the subject:

[Todorov in Bulgarian with superimposed Czech translation] I can say that we have successful cooperation in all areas of life. The new stage in the development of socialist integration demands that the parliaments of the CEMA member states carry out a coordinated legislative activity to bring the legal infrastructure of economic relations closer together. The existing differences have created obstacles and are hampering the development of modern economic forms of cooperation and integration. The long-range program for economic, scientific and technological cooperation until the year 2,000 was signed in Sofia recently by the highest party representatives of Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria, Comrades Jakes and Zhivkov. The implementation of this program calls for practical coordination between Czechoslovak and Bulgarian state and economic bodies. During our meeting at CPCZ Central Committee Headquarters Comrade Milos Jakes stressed the great importance of parliaments in stimulating ministries to discharge tasks arising from the program adopted in Sofia. We fully identify with his words. The parliaments of both our countries can and indeed must be transformed into an active factor for the intensification of socialist economic integration.

[Cebrovsky] The next question concerned the role played by the National Assembly in the process of restructuring Bulgarian society. Comrade Stanko Todorov noted the following:

[Todorov in Bulgarian with superimposed Czech translation] Restructuring in our country requires carrying out these great tasks on the basis of the declaration adopted by the National Assembly on 30 April 1987, which concerns socialist ownership, administration, and management by work collectives. I can cite another declaration of 7 July last year, which talks about the role of local organs of power. These are, I would say, the foundation stones for carrying out qualitative changes in economic relations and developing democracy under conditions of socialist self-management. The Council of Ministers has adopted a whole number of documents to practically implement these constitutional acts. The building of a legal system, which would correspond with the principles of self management, constitutes a significant factor of restructuring. This requires a tremendous effort by the National Assembly and all bodies. This also presupposes profound changes in parliamentary work, too. The National Assembly will be transformed to become the highest collective authority of our society's self management. The overall restructuring of the National Assembly's activity will be resolved through changes in the Constitution. A parliamentary commission has been set up. It is preparing a draft of the new edition [redakce] of the Constitution. This, too, will make a significant contribution to pushing through and carrying out the ideas for restructuring Bulgarian society. [end recording]

**Strougal Interviewed on Brazil Visit**

*AU2005190288 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 May 88 pp 1,7*

[CTK report: "L. Strougal's Interview on his Visit to Brazil"]

[Text] At the conclusion of his visit to the Federative Republic of Brazil, CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal met with the journalists accompanying him during his trip, and answered the questions put to him by the reporters of RUDE PRAVO, CTK, Czechoslovak Television, Czechoslovak Radio, and PRACE.

[Reporters] Comrade Premier, what do you consider to be the most important result of your visit to Brazil?

[Strougal] It is no simple matter to reply to this question, since one must weigh whether to ascribe priority to the political results of this visit, or to its economic results. Actually, both are important. Our most useful political dialogue dealt with the basic issues of disarmament and peaceful coexistence and the possibilities of peace initiatives in Europe and Latin America. However, political contacts are not the only typical features of our bilateral relations with Brazil; they are also characterized by an economic and scientific-technical cooperation (specifically expressed in the agreements signed during the visit; they correspond to the general conditions and goals of our cooperation and also concern specific projects). The basis for this is provided by established traditions. The Brazilians appreciate our capital goods and other machinery and equipment, with which we have been supplying them for many years. Simply, our reputation is good.

[Reporters] You are the first Czechoslovak premier to visit Brazil since the establishment of diplomatic relations between our countries 70 years ago. Will this be reflected in Czechoslovak-Brazilian contacts, by affecting the development of our cooperation?

[Strougal] These issues are also intertwined. If we have set ourselves the goal to increase our goods exchange roughly fivefold within a period of 8-10 years (and I believe that this can be achieved even sooner), it is essential for us to adopt new forms of collaboration, above all via cooperation and joint business ventures. This is the direct result of our negotiations.

As for the political sphere, our exchange of views on basic issues with President Sarney and the governors of the individual states which we visited was most realistic and rational. We discussed ways in which the world should cooperate in the future, and in which our two countries—great Brazil and small Czechoslovakia—can and want to participate in this process. The Brazilians see us in a most encouraging light, they expect a lot from us, and the extent to which we will justify their expectations depends on us. Our negotiations have established the necessary political prerequisites for this.

[Reporters] The economic agreements and envisaged projects will be carried out by Czechoslovak production enterprises. In view of the restructuring of our economic mechanism, they will be naturally interested in the effectiveness of these foreign trade operations. Will they not be uneasy about establishing relations with a country that has a considerable foreign debt and a high inflation?

[Strougal] I would like to stress: The Brazilian-Czechoslovak trade is developing normally, Brazilian customers are paying for our deliveries, and the firms with which we are cooperating are solvent. Therefore, one cannot transfer outright the macroeconomic view of Brazil's indebtedness to our bilateral contacts. Brazil has an open market, which is most interesting and extensive. At the same time Brazil's needs correspond to the structure of our industry. The Brazilians want to obtain power industry equipment, textile machinery, cement works, and various engineering products; we are interested in their computer and information technology (where they exhibit a most rapid progress), but also in raw materials and in consumer and engineering goods. From this viewpoint the further development of economic relations with Brazil can aid the export performance of the Czechoslovak economy.

[Reporters] It is known that Brazil is supporting a number of peace initiatives in the world, and is involved in many of them. Can you tell us where the views of Brazil's foreign policy are concurrent with ours?

[Strougal] Local initiatives on peace corridors are emerging in the world—we know about the Czechoslovak initiative on the zone of trust along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO; the initiative of the Scandinavian states envisages an area free of nuclear and chemical arms; a similar initiative of the Balkan states also concerns the removal of nuclear and chemical weapons. Brazil is not standing apart, either: The UN General Assembly has approved its initiative on a zone of peace and cooperation in the southern Atlantic. It is obvious that a comprehensive strategy of peace corridors in various parts of the world is gradually taking shape. Its specific elaboration will most certainly be a very complicated matter; but it expresses a certain attitude on the part of the people, maintaining that the world should be free of nuclear and chemical weapons and that we should achieve what we call a "sensible adequacy" in the sphere of conventional armaments—in other words, the protection of every state against a possible adventurous attack. Our talks with President Sarney, but also with other representatives, have shown that our assessment of the peaceful arrangement of the world is concurrent, as is our appraisal of the need to attain an ecological equilibrium and to promote technological exchange and cooperation in the humanitarian, cultural, economic, and scientific-technical spheres.

[Reporters] What are your personal impressions of Brazil?

[Strougal] A person coming to such a great country has certain expectations. I think that the reality has surpassed mine in many respects. This is a country which is undergoing an immense upsurge. Such a rapid advancement naturally brings many problems with it. However, the important thing is that Brazil has its own program, it has rich mineral deposits, and it is at the same time developing certain production branches, branches which are very promising and most effective, and whose products can be sold on world markets. If one also takes into account the Brazilian views on the further development of mankind, on the peaceful arrangement of the world, and on the solution of the problems of developing countries, then I can only say that I am most pleasantly surprised by the fact that there is a great power in Latin America which is pursuing such thoughts, and which is also implementing them both in its foreign policy and in its domestic policy.

## Jiri Pelikan on Topicality of Prague Spring

*PM2305091288 Rome AVANTI! in Italian 15-16 May 88 p 5 (AVANTI! DELLA DOMENICA supplement)*

[Article by former Czechoslovak television chief Jiri Pelikan: "Gorbachev's New Economic Course Rehabilitates Prague"]

[Text] We can now see that the principal ideas of the Prague Spring are gradually establishing themselves in other central and eastern European countries too, especially—and this is the new, and I would say revolutionary, thing—in the Soviet Union itself, under Gorbachev's leadership—in other words, in the very country that stifled the Prague "Spring" with its position and military intervention 20 years ago.

I believe I am not exaggerating when I say that Gorbachev's policy of economic and political reforms expressed in the terms "perestroyka" and "glasnost" constitutes a de facto rehabilitation of the Prague "Spring," even though conservative forces in Prague and Moscow are trying to hide it or deny it.

Of course I do not mean by this that the two processes are the same. Be that as it may, I will consider here their points in common and their differences. Their main point in common is their source of inspiration. They both proceed from an acknowledgment that the Stalinist model of socialism has reached an irreversible crisis and that the only possible way out is through radical economic and political reforms, whose significance is based on the close bond between socialism and democracy.

In both cases it is not democracy as we understand it in the West, that is, in terms of a pluralistic parliamentary system, but a democratization process designed to give citizens a greater opportunity to participate in political and economic decisionmaking, leaving a leading role to the Communist Party. This leading role, however, must

be performed no longer by means of administrative measures but through a dialogue with the various political and social partners representing the interests of socialist society.

The difference of course lies in the fact that in 1968 Czechoslovakia had been prepared in all respects for such changes by prior developments and to a considerable extent by the country's democratic traditions. Apart from this, it is a relatively small country comprising only two nations—Czechs and Slovaks—whereas the USSR is a major power extending from Europe to the Far East and comprising over 100 nationalities and ethnic groups—without any kind of democratic traditions, moreover.

This is why it was possible in Czechoslovakia in 1968 to achieve a union between the initiative "from above"—that is, of the progressive forces within the CPCZ—and the initiative "from below"—that is, with the constant pressure of the public, which enthusiastically supported the Dubcek leadership but which at the same time urged more radical reforms. In the Soviet Union the initiative for reforms comes chiefly "from above"—from only one sector of the leadership, moreover, and above all from the general secretary himself. He enjoys the intellectuals' sincere support but is encountering considerable opposition from the party and state apparatus and, more importantly, indifference or suspicion on the part of broad strata of the population, to whom he cannot at present offer any radical improvement of living conditions and whom he is, on the contrary, confronting with a whole series of unprecedented problems such as the possibility of losing their jobs, the need for hard work, the need for high productivity, and the threat of price increases and inflation and of the resulting social tension.

In Czechoslovakia in 1968 the overall situation was much more favorable for a reform of the system and it is a real tragedy for socialism in both East and West that the attempt was suppressed by means of an outside intervention.

On the other hand it is extremely important for a sign of change to come now —and for the first time—not from the outlying areas of the empire but directly from its center, from Moscow. This means that the renewal process is not forced to evolve under external pressure and that it is not threatened by an intervention by Prague, Warsaw, or Budapest.

Obviously this does not mean that Gorbachev's new policy can develop without any less dramatic dangers and obstacles. I have already mentioned some, such as the absence of democratic traditions, the long period of Stalinism and of stagnation under Brezhnev, and the nationalities issue, which is explosive in some parts of the country. The greatest danger is the sharp opposition of the conservative forces, which have exerted strong pressures even within the CPSU leadership itself, as shown by the current controversies in the party press.

Undoubtedly these conservative forces within the CPSU leadership have allies in some leadership groups of the Soviet Bloc countries. In some cases these leadership groups were established by the Brezhnev leadership and they perceive a threat of destabilization in the USSR's current evolution. They verbally argue the need for "perestroyka" but in fact want to curb it. They are particularly afraid of "glasnost" and democratization.

It is an irony of fate that it is the current CPCZ leadership that most fears the success of the reforms in the USSR. There is a logic to this, of course, because this leadership derives its legitimacy from the August 1968 military intervention based on the argument that Czechoslovakia was threatened by a "counterrevolution." Nevertheless not even this leadership can avoid changes and the influence of Gorbachev's policy. It would like to limit them to economic reform, however, without any political democratization. This is why it is continuing the campaign against the Prague "Spring" and its representatives and the policy of discrimination against all those who have remained loyal to the 1968 renewal policy.

Though what goes on within the ruling party is important, we must mainly follow what is happening within society. The trend there is toward major changes. In Czechoslovakia, but also in Hungary, Poland, and the GDR, we can talk in terms of a reawakening of society. This is evinced by movements such as Charter 77 and VONS (Committee for the Defense of Unjustly Tried Citizens), but also by the newly formed environmentalist movements, the broad field of alternative culture with its samizdat books and journals, independent music groups, unofficial art exhibitions, the so-called flying university, and above all the tide of religious revival, especially among young people but also among other strata of citizens, as shown by the major success of the Catholics' petition for the Church's separation from the state and for greater religious freedoms, signed by 450,000 Czechoslovak citizens.

This all confirms that even countries such as Czechoslovakia, but also other central and eastern European countries are stirring. This should be recognized by the West European governments and political parties, which often mistakenly equate the "detente" policy with a confirmation of the status quo in Europe. Negotiations between the government of East and West on disarmament and economic cooperation are necessary and helpful. However, the Western political forces, especially those of the left, must regard as their natural allies primarily the independent forces and movements aspiring to change in the direction of democratic reforms. Unless they express their support for such forces they

will leave the defense of these central and eastern European peoples' democratic aspirations to America's President Reagan and to the Catholic Church, with its Polish pope.

Gorbachev's idea of a "common European home" is very attractive. Of course the occupants of this home must have the same rights. This is why it is necessary to ensure that the principles of the Helsinki Final Act also apply to the USSR's relations wit the central and eastern European countries and not just to its relations with the West. It is to be welcomed that this year's Soviet-Yugoslav joint statement opens the way to this, though it can be interpreted in various ways. In order for it to be a credible step and in order for Gorbachev's "new political thinking" to be credible too, it is to be hoped that this year, on the 20th anniversary of the military intervention against the Prague "Spring," Gorbachev will make a gesture clearly distancing himself from the Brezhnev Doctrine of limited sovereignty.

The decision to withdraw the troops from Afghanistan points in the right direction. However, only a clear statement by the Soviet leadership that the military intervention against Czechoslovakia in August 1968 was a "political error" on the part of the Brezhnev leadership could provide a guarantee that there can be no repetition of such examples of big power hegemonism in the future.

Is Gorbachev willing and really able to take such a step? I cannot answer this for the present. For this very reason, however, we must raise our voices to ensure that this demand becomes an integral part of the policy of the entire European left and of all democratic forces. It will be a significant way in which the European left can help Gorbachev's reform efforts and a major contribution to healing this "open wound" that has weakened the left for the past 20 years.

## European Jewish Peace Forum Opens in Prague

*AU2005155788 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak*
*17 May 88 p 2*

[CTK report: "Peace Action of Jewish Religious Communities in Europe; Intensifying the Constructive Dialogue"]

[Text] Prague—A 3-day peace forum [akce] of the Jewish religious communities in Europe opened yesterday [16 May] in Prague. Its purpose is to support the Czechoslovak proposal to create a zone of trust, cooperation, and good neighborly relations along the line of contact between Warsaw Pact and NATO states, which was submitted in February 1988 by Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary.

Side by side with Czechoslovak representatives, the deliberations are being attended by the representatives of Jewish religious communities from the GDR, Hungary, and Poland; and by Ruth Hasan from Finland, deputy chairman of the European Jewish Congress. Delegations of the Central Committee of the CSSR National Front, the Czechoslovak Peace Committee, and the National Memorial in Terezin were also present on the first day of the forum.

At the beginning of the first session Bohumil Heller, chairman of the Council of Jewish Religious Communities in the Czech SR, stated that the venue of the gathering, Prague, houses a set of unique historical, cultural, religious, and architectural monuments and other jewels of art, which are being maintained and embellished with the generous support of the Czechoslovak socialist state as a priceless part of European civilization. In their midst we are again reminded of the monstrosities of war, and our coresponsibility for the further destiny of our peoples, of our countries and states, of our common European home, Bohumil Heller said. That is why we want to profess our allegiance to the CSSR's February initiative, which proceeds from the conviction that the problem of European security, cooperation and trust requires new creative approaches and an intensified constructive international dialogue concerning the roads and means leading to the consolidation of guaranteed peace in all spheres of international relations on a global and regional scale.

We think, Bohumil Hellert stated, that we Jews carry special responsibility in the process of searching for a happy peaceful future for Europe and all mankind. It follows from our fate, from our common historic experience, from the moral commitment of we who have lived through the sufferings of World War II—our commitment toward our dead, but also toward our living fellow-believers, and toward all people who have lived in their countries for centuries. The peace initiatives which we are promoting today and which we want to support express our own, literally vital interests.

## Forum Concludes 18 May

*AU2005160588 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak*
*19 May 88 p 2*

[CTK report: "Conclusion of the Peace Action of Jewish Religious Communities in Europe; Equal Security for Everybody"]

[Text] Prague—The peace forum [akce] of Jewish religious communities in Europe, which was held in support of the Czechoslovak proposal to create a zone of peace, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between Warsaw Pact and NATO states, ended yesterday [18 May] in Prague.

In the course of their 3-day session, the representatives of Jewish religious communities from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the GDR, and Poland, and Ruth Hasan from Finland, deputy chairman of the European Jewish Congress, also visited Terezin, where they paid tribute to the memory of more than 40,000 victims of fascism who had been tortured to death in those places.

In concluding their deliberations the participants in the forum adopted a declaration, which they yesterday [18 May] presented to Vladimir Janku, deputy minister and director of the CSSR Government Secretariat for Church Affairs. The declaration points out that the various European states must cooperate with each other. "The destines of European peoples are linked by innumerable ties in their only common home; within the process of creative deliberations, all states should therefore strive for good neighborly relations. We support the idea of building a pan-European home, in which equal security would be provided for everybody," the declaration states. "That is why we profess allegiance to the idea of creating a zone of trust, cooperation, and good neighborly relations along the line of contact of the two social systems. The main thing is not to let the positive development stop, and to follow up the first steps with further steps. We have before us an extraordinary opportunity to prove our humanitarian ethics; and we do not want to remain merely passive observers at this fateful time of decisive acts."

The text of the declaration will be submitted to the session of the European Jewish Congress, which is to be held in Brussels toward the end of May.

The peace gathering of Jewish religious communities in Europe will continue 27-29 June; again, the venue will be Prague. Representatives from Bulgaria, Denmark, Greece, Yugoslavia, and Austria, as well as representatives of the European Jewish Congress, are expected to attend.

The leading representatives of Jewish religious communities from the GDR, Poland, Hungary, and Finland were yesterday [18 May] received by Bohuslav Kucera, deputy chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly and chairman of the Czechoslovak Association for International Relations (CSSMS). Bohumil Heller and Bedrich Gruenwald, leading representative of the Council of Jewish Religious Communities in the Czech and Slovak SR's respectively, presented Kucera with the declaration adopted by the forum participants in support of the idea to create a zone of trust, cooperation and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between Warsaw Pact and NATO states. The reception was attended by Vladimir Janku.

### Jakes Receives Socialist Youth Delegations

*LD2105110988 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1700 GMT 20 May 88*

[Text] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, in the presence of Karel Hoffmann, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, received in Prague today the heads of delegations attending the meeting of representatives of fraternal youth organizations from the countries of the socialist community. Comrade Milos Jakes welcomed them cordially and wished them many successes during their working stay in Czechoslovakia. He stressed that young people in all socialist countries are faced with the urgent task to participate, along with progressive people the world over, in eliminating the threat of a nuclear military conflict and strengthening international peace and security. At the same time the issue is to ensure that young people contribute by their vigor, knowledge, and abilities to a better utilization of the enormous material and intellectual potential of socialism. Only thus is it possible to give a new dynamism to the social and economic development of the socialist countries, increase the authority and attractiveness of socialism on a worldwide scale, and bring benefit to the cause of progress and peace. This has brought new stimuli to as well as higher demands on the activity of the youth organizations in individual countries, on their informal cooperation on both the multilateral and bilateral basis.

The general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee went on to inform his foreign visitors about the implementation of the conclusions reached by the 17th party congress to speed up social and economic development of our country, the course of the economic and social restructuring on the basis of deepening socialist democracy. In implementing these tasks our party is making broad use of the experiences and stimuli of the CPSU and other fraternal countries from the socialist community. We are striving to broaden the international division of labor within the CEMA framework. We are interested in developing cooperation with the other socialist countries as well as other states.

Comrade Milos Jakes highlighted the main features of the conclusions drawn by the seventh and ninth sessions of the party Central Committee and also mentioned a number of internal and external problems that have to be overcome in the process of restructuring. He stressed that it is the unity of the party and its close bonds with people which is the primary prerequisite of success. The CPCZ has created conditions to enable our united youth organization, the Socialist Union of Youth, as a solid component of the National Front of the CSSR, to continue to develop its activity and broaden its influence on the young generation. Its active participation in cooperation on a worldwide scale enjoys the party's full support.

Viktor Mironenko, first secretary of the Central Committee of the All-Union Leninist Komsomol, speaking on behalf of the participants in the meeting, thanked Comrade Milos Jakes for the cordial reception and stressed the necessity to intensify cooperation between the youth organizations from the socialist countries within the framework of the combined endeavor of the progressive forces of the international youth movement in the struggle for peace, democracy, and progress, in particular in connection with the forthcoming 13th World Festival of Youth and Students in the DPRK.

### Government Rejects Cardinal Tomasek Letter

*LD2005144988 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1400 GMT 20 May 88*

[Text] Federal Deputy Premier Matej Lucan met today in Prague with bishops and ordinaries of the Roman Catholic Church, and with representatives of the Pacem in Terris Association of Catholic clergy. He informed them of the process of restructuring and deepening democracy, and expressed the conviction that believers, who are an indivisible part of our people, enjoying equal rights with them, would also understand and accept restructuring. He stated that our leaders have taken a realistic and highly constructive line in relations with the churches and religious societies. At the same time, however, he noted that it remains one of the permanent principles of our policy toward the church not to allow the church to be misused against society and working people's interests. Certain circles, particularly forces abroad and their allies at home, see the misuse of religious motives as an opportunity to attack socialist Czechoslovakia.

Matej Lucan referred also to the letter Cardinal Tomasek sent to the federal government, which, in fact, takes up and gives authorization to the views of those who aim to misuse the interests of believers and the churches for political aims, and which concludes by exerting pressure. In addition, the letter, which is at variance with ethical principles, was made available to Western media for publication as a basis for new attacks. Matej Lucan said that in the last few days he had conveyed to Cardinal Tomasek the federal government's response. He stated that the letter, through its platform of confrontation and tactless approach, could not form the basis for constructive relations, and therefore the government had been obliged to reject it.

In the ensuing discussion, the participants at the meeting spoke highly of the efforts made by the government to resolve church-political issues, and rejected all attempts to misuse the church for political purposes against Czechoslovakia.

### Party Presidium Meets 20 May

*LD2005155588 Prague CTK in English 1431 GMT 20 May 88*

[Text] Prague May 20 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium dealt here today with draft state closing accounts for 1987, which the Czechoslovak Government will submit to the Federal Assembly for debate and approval.

The Presidium discussed preparations for celebrations of the 400th birthday anniversary of Jan Amos Komensky (Comenius), on the occasion of which an international conference is to be held in Prague in March 1992 under the motto Comenius' bequest and man's education for the 21st century.

It also dealt with preparations for a consultative meeting of secretaries of central committees of fraternal parties of the CMEA member states for economic questions to be held in Budapest on June 1 and 2.

The Presidium stated that the official visit to Brazil by Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal from May 10 to 15 has contributed to the expansion of mutual cooperation in all spheres.

## 3d Friendship Festival With Cuban Youth Held

### Cuban Delegation Arrives

*AU1905154188 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 May 88 p 2*

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The Cuban delegation to the Third Friendship Festival Between the Youth of the GDR and the Republic of Cuba, which will be held in Magdeburg on Whitsunday, arrived in the GDR on Tuesday afternoon [17 May]. It is led by Roberto Garcia, secretary of the National Committee of the Union of Young Communists (UJC) of Cuba. The Cuban visitors were cordially welcomed in the FDJ Central Council by Eberhard Aurich, first secretary of the council. It is a great pleasure that through this meeting in Magdeburg the tradition of the 1980 Rostock festival and the 1984 Cienfuegos festival continues, Aurich stated.

### Honecker Greets Festival

*AU2005151888 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 May 88 p 3*

[Message from Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, to the Third Friendship Festival Between the Youth of the GDR and the Republic of Cuba: "Highlight in Traditional GDR-Cuba Friendship"]

[Text] Dear friends of the Union of Young Communists of Cuba, dear FDJ members:

On behalf of the SED Central Committee and of the GDR State Council, I convey to you most cordial greetings on the occasion of the Third Friendship Festival Between the Youth of the GDR and the Republic of Cuba.

Your meeting is a highlight in the traditional friendship and cooperation between our fraternally allied peoples and their youth. We are certain that fresh impulses will emanate from this festival for the further strengthening of the multifaceted relations between the Union of Young Communists of Cuba and the FDJ.

The encounters during your friendship festival offer a good opportunity to exchange experiences on how young people are meeting their responsibility as members of the socialist society and as fighters for peace and progress. This will provide stimuli for new initiatives in implementing the resolutions of the Third Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba and the 11th SED Congress. In this way, the youth contributes to comprehensively fulfilling the agreement on friendship and cooperation concluded between our states in May 1980.

Your meeting is taking place at a time when peace-loving forces on all continents are increasing their efforts to safeguard a lasting peace and to avert the danger of a nuclear catastrophe. We are convinced that the young generations in Cuba and the GDR will again raise their voices in favor of security, disarmament, detente, and a nuclear-free world. Only in a peaceful world will it be possible to overcome hunger, illiteracy, economic backwardness, and injustice, as well as the other global problems which mankind is facing.

Your friendship festival will be held in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism. It will strengthen the democratic international youth's alliance of action in the struggle for peace, friendship, and anti-imperialist solidarity, thus contributing to the resourceful preparation for the 13th Youth and Students' World Festival in Pyongyang in 1989.

We wish the Third Friendship Festival between the youth of the GDR and the Republic of Cuba much success. May all participants and guests as well as the Magdeburg hosts have unforgettable experiences and lasting impressions.

Friendship!

E. Honecker,

general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

### Youth Rally Held

*LD2205230788 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1549 GMT 22 May 88*

[Excerpt] Magdeburg, 22 May (ADN)—A rally for peace, friendship, and anti-imperialist solidarity in Magdeburg today united the participants in the GDR-Cuba youth festival with the inhabitants of the host city. 25,000 people assembled in the old market in Magdeburg. Members of the FDJ and Cuba's Union of Young Communists stood tightly packed with citizens of the festival city.

In his speech, SED Politburo member Egon Krenz recalled the days in May 8 years ago when Erich Honecker and Fidel Castro signed the treaty on friendship and cooperation between the two countries. The third friendship festival impressively showed how it is being filled with life and how young people are actively working for the fulfillment of their Marxist-Leninist parties' resolutions.

The GDR and Cuba are at the side of the Soviet Union, the other fraternal socialist states, and all those who wrote peace and understanding on their banner, in their political struggle. To great agreement Egon Krenz exclaimed: Peace, freedom, and self-determination, are not values of another, values of a capitalist world. Peace, freedom, and self-determination are among the values of socialism. Nothing, but nothing allies us with those who value the destructive force of weapons more highly than the constructive force of reason, who presume to determine the fate of other nations and increase their wealth at their expense.

Everything, but everything allies us with the struggle of the peoples for peace and social justice, for a world in which man can be truly human, for strong socialism which is our present and future, Egon Krenz stressed. "And as regards the prospects for socialism and our certain future in socialism, no one on the other side of our borders need concern himself with this. We will decide this for ourselves."

The meeting is taking place at a time at which, thanks to the combined efforts of all circles interested in peace, a turn for the better has become possible in international relations. The global conscience is more vigilant than ever for global peace. Humanity is recognizing more and more that without peace there can be no future worthy of man. Without peace the elimination of hunger and illiteracy, social injustice, and the threat to the common environment remains a dream and utopia. Even the global expenditure on arms of 2 and 1/2 days a year would be sufficient to end hunger in the developing countries by the turn of the century. And less than the expenditure on arms for 1/2 a day a year would be enough to eliminate illiteracy. It is indeed a commandment of reason to achieve peace with fewer and fewer weapons.

However, in view of humanity's danger to itself, continuing to use war as a means of politics is thinking and acting in a highly unhuman manner and is risking young people's future. For this reason we said yes and yes again to the proposal put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev for a nuclear weapon-free world. For this reason we said yes and yes again to the policy of peace, reason, and understanding as carried out so commitedly and flexibly by Erich Honecker and Fidel Castro. Egon Krenz stressed that unlike NATO we do not fear the denuclearization of Europe, on the contrary: We have sent out invitations for an international meeting for nuclear weapons-free zones to be held in Berlin next month.

Among the truths of socialism is that peace is forged in everyday work. Being trusted and taking on responsibility has always included working in the first ranks for strong socialism, a world without weapons, and the happiness of the nations for the youth of both countries. This fact, recognizable for everyone, says more than any words about the communists' and their allies' humanistic work of construction in both countries. "We are proud of such facts and we will not let anyone take that pride away from us. It is pride in the dilligence and the devotion of working people, pride in their success and in the creative search for better and better solutions in the interests of the people."

Afterward Egon Krenz turned to Havana, accompanied by the applause of the festival participants, with the assurance that the baton of friendship would be passed from generation to generation. Eberhard Aurich, first secretary of the FDJ Central Council, asked Egon Krenz to convey the most cordial greetings of the participants in the rally to Erich Honecker.

Roberto Garcia, secretary of the National Committee of the Cuban youth organization, spoke on behalf of the Cuban friends. He underlined that lasting and secure peace can only be realized in a world in which peaceful coexistence reigns between the differring social systems. Without peace and disarmament, no development or social progress is possible. The speaker stressed the necessity of reinforcing solidarity with those countries who are fighting for independence and national liberation as well as economic and social progress. His people know the importance of solidarity and aid from their own experience. This support given by the socialist states has been decisive for the survival and progression of the Cuban revolution over the past 30 years. "Today we too are fulfilling this internationalist duty, true to the principles of the heroic revolutionary Ernesto Che Guevara."

Roberto Garcia said that the youth of the GDR and Cuba are in the front line in the fight for peace, disarmament, and development. The progressive youth of the world will meet in Pyongyang for the World Festival of Youth. He underlined the will to fight for a happy future for humanity.

This rally for peace, friendship, and anti-imperialist solidarity in Magdeburg is unambiguous proof of the fact that young people of both countries are united by the same hopes and militant ideals. Thanks to the Soviet Union, the GDR, and the other socialist countries, peace is more and more becoming a real possibility. The speaker expressed the hope that the process of disarmament will be continued. Imperialism has still not given up the arms race nor its plans for star wars. Nations which want to throw off their chains and start an independent path toward progress are directly or indirectly attacked by it, the head of the Cuban delegation stressed. Dramatic situations in many regions of the world, in which oppression, no freedom, and underdevelopment reign, have to be eliminated. The Cuban people stand firmly at the side of the other socialist countries in solving these pressing current problems. [passage omitted]

## Further on Horst Sindermann's Visit to Belgium

### Meets With Premier

*LD2105103188 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1609 GMT 20 May 88*

[Text] Brussels, 20 May (ADN)—Horst Sindermann, Council of State deputy chairman, GDR People's Chamber president, and SED Central Committee Politburo member, and Belgian Prime Minister Wilfried Martens met for an exchange of views in the Belgian capital this afternoon. Horst Sindermann conveyed cordial greetings from Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR Council of State chairman, which were reciprocated with equal cordiality.

Both politicians praised the high level of bilateral relations, which have been developing continuously for 15 years and which have been given fresh impetus by the talks between Erich Honecker and Wilfried Martens. This confirmed that the path embarked upon would continue to be useful and advantageous for both sides in the future, too. The continuation of dialogue at the most varied levels not only serves the further shaping of bilateral relations but also East-West relations as a whole.

Horst Sindermann pointed to the joint struggle of German and Belgian anti-fascists against the Hitlerite regime. The lessons and the experience of that period gave rise an obligation of the GDR to ensure that war never again emanates from German soil. A consistent peace policy is a firm component of the GDR's foreign policy. With the convening of the International Meeting for Nuclear-Free Zones in Berlin, for which Erich Honecker took the initiative, the GDR is making an active and independent contribution to the preservation of peace and to bringing about detente.

The favorable framework conditions, which are attributable to positive changes in the international climate, should now be used for advancing the disarmament process and for a lasting change for the better. In this connection Horst Sindermann stressed the GDR's position that the 50 percent reduction in the strategic offensive weapons of the United States and the USSR, with strict observance of the ABM Treaty, is the next important step for this. Disarmament measures in one sphere must not be compensated by arms build-ups in other spheres.

Wilfried Martens, who stressed his country's loyalty to NATO, endorsed the view that small and medium-sized countries, too, can make an effective contribution to improving the international situation in order to promote dialogue between the leaders of the two military blocs and bring about a controlled system of common security through negotiations. He stated that his government is in favor of linking negotiations on disarmament in the conventional sphere with those on missiles with a range up to 500 km. Prime Minister Martens expressed the hope that economic cooperation between the two states will continue to deepen steadily. The two states spoke in support of placing their trusting and equal cooperation in the service of improving the political climate in the common European home.

Earlier Horst Sindermann had a talk with Belgian Foreign Minister Leo Tindermans. He underlined the GDR's readiness and interest in continuing the political dialogue with Belgium at a high and even the highest level. In this way the two states contribute to the strengthening of trust and security in Europe. This requires more than ever the commitment of each state—whether large or small—in order to promote positive changes in the international situation and advance the process set in motion of effective disarmament steps. Intentions to undermine this development through armament efforts in other spheres cause disquiet. On the Warsaw Pact's side, Horst Sindermann said, a constructive program of disarmament in all sphres of nuclear as well as conventional weapons is on the table in the shape of the Sofia appeal by the foreign ministers. In the future too, the GDR will remain a politically predictable and economically stable partner which is receptive to constructive proposals and a uniting of forces for the strengthening of peace, for the development of cooperation, and for continuing effective disarmament steps, and is developing its own initiatives to this end.

At the forthcoming International Meeting for Nuclear-Free Zones in Berlin there is a problem up for comprehensive discussion whose significance reaches far beyond Europe and whose cause is as equally consistently supported by the GDR as is that of the creation of a chemical weapons-free zone. In this connection Foreign Minister Tindemans said that Belgium is striving for a worldwide ban on chemical weapons, beginning with Europe. He said that the newly formed cabinet, at its first meeting today, passed the bill on the verification of the withdrawal of U.S. intermediate-range missiles stationed in Beligum, which will be placed before Parliament next week.

At a press conference Horst Sindermann spoke about the visit and the exchange of views which was conducted chiefly with parliamentarians, and the results of the talks, with which he was very satisfied and which testified to many coinciding opinions on basic problems of the safeguarding of peace.

At a reception in the GDR Embassy in Brussels, at which many Belgian public figures were present, the chief of protocol of the Royal Household, Baron Christian de Posch, conveyed cordial greetings from Baudouin I, King of the Belgians, who is abroad at present.

On the sidelines of the visit by the People's Chamber delegation, Wolfgang Heyl, deputy chairman of the CDU, met with Frank Swaelen, president of the Christian People's Party [CVP]. During the talk Frank Swaelen promised that the CVP will be represented at the International Meeting for Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones in Berlin.

### Talks With CP Head

*LD2305085788 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1120 GMT 20 May 88*

[Text] Brussels, 20 May (ADN)—Horst Sindermann, SED Central Committee Politburo member, today met with the chairman of the Communist Party of Belgium, Louis Van Geyt, in Brussels.

During the meeting, Horst Sindermann conveyed the fraternal greetings of Erich Honecker, which were reciprocated. He spoke about the development in the GDR and the political-ideological work of the party in all areas of life.

Louis Van Geyt gave an overview of the struggle of the Communist Party of Belgium in defense of the interests of working people and the protection against attempts to rob them of their social achievements, secured after decades of struggle, and to shift the consequences of the crisis onto their shoulders.

In the discussion of international questions, Louis Van Geyt welcomed the visit of the People's Chamber delegation under the leadership of Horst Sindermann to Belgium as a further initiative of the GDR for intensifying the success-oriented political dialogue and the protection of mankind against a nuclear inferno. He acknowledged the initiative of the International Meeting for Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones in Berlin in June, in which he himself will take part at the head of a delegation from the Communist Party of Belgium.

**'Solidarity Aid' to Angola Continues**

*AU2005150588 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 May 88 p 2*

["Ki." commentary: "A Matter Dear To Our Hearts: Solidarity"]

[Text] According to UN General Secretary Perez de Cuellar, Angola, which has for years been the target of South African destabilization efforts, is in an emergency situation. The People's Republic urgently needs help, and the GDR is among the countries that provide help. As was stated in Geneva at an international conference in support of Angola, from 1981 to 1986 our Republic provided solidarity aid totalling M48.7 million. More aid worth M7 million is planned for this year.

Angola is the country that apartheid racists wanted to strangle while still in the cradle of its birth during 1975-76. The continued raids by South African troops and attacks by bands of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, controlled and equipped by Pretoria, have so far claimed more than 100,000 lives, crippled hundreds of thousands of Angolans, driven away from their homes nearly one million people, and caused damages amounting to $17 billion—not to mention the consequences for the country's economy.

Pretoria's barbarian policy of aggression does not only affect Angola and Mozambique, but also other neighboring countries. And the GDR provides solidarity aid for these countries, too, according to how much it can afford, just as it supports in a vigorous and efficient manner other liberated states in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. As was recently documented by the response to a poll carried out by the UN secretary general, in 1986 GDR aid for developing countries totalled 0.86 percent of the country's produced national income, which is more than the target of 0.7 percent, suggested by the United Nations for industrialized states.

"One focal point of solidarity aid is the basic and advanced training of national skilled workers from developing countries in the GDR," the document states. Between 1970 and 1986, for example, 88,000 citizens from these countries received vocational training in the GDR. During the same period some 23,000 specialists, dispatched and financed by the GDR, worked in developing countries. The picture would be incomplete without mentioning the supply of vaccines and other pharmaceuticals for children, free medical care for thousands of people from the Third World, and aid operations in cases of emergency or natural catastrophe.

As a matter of fact, our means are limited, but our willingness to provide solidarity aid has been unlimited from the very beginning. Our children in kindergartens, our school children and FDJ members, and our adults are encouraged by the FDGB to contribute to this. The workers song "Move Ahead and Do Not Forget...Solidarity," which has been sung so often, constitutes a basic principle of our policy and is alive as a moral principle among our people.

## Further Commentary, Reportage on Work Stoppages

### Walesa to Authorities: 'Draw Conclusions'

*AU2205172088 Paris AFP in English*
*1652 GMT 22 May 88*

[Text] Warsaw, May 22 (AFP)—Solidarity leader Lech Walesa on Sunday warned Polish authorities not to ignore the lessons of the country's recent wave of strikes and he made a fresh call for the right to form independent unions.

Speaking in the Baltic port of Gdansk, he called on the government to "rapidly draw conclusions" from the strikes, which included a walkout by thousands of workers at the giant Lenin Shipyard.

"Do you not think that we will have to take stock (of the unrest). Do you think that the people will forget the lies and the outrages?" Mr Walesa asked a meeting after mass at Saint Bridget's Church in the shipyards.

All Poles should "have the chance to join organisations of their choice without any restriction."

Mr Walesa's independent trade union Solidarity has been banned since 1981.

He said: "I would like the recent strikes to be considered a big lesson for Solidarity and the government."

In a sermon to a congregation of 4,000 people, Father Henryk Jankowski, the Lenin Shipyards' chaplain, criticised Polish authorities' repression of demonstrations.

"In democratic countries, police do not prevent people from demonstrating for a better future. Here, people are beaten if they want to exercise their legitimate rights," he said.

### PAP on 'Admissibility of Strikes'

*LD2005174188 Warsaw PAP in English*
*1615 GMT 20 May 88*

["Right to Strike in Poland"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, May 21—"Looking for the best solutions of the problem of collective disputes, we deemed it necessary to create legal guarantees with a sharp antibureaucratic edge which, on the one hand, would in the fullest possible way protect workers' rights and, on the other, protect the overall public and state interest," Prof Sylwester Zawadzki, who was chairman of a Council of State team created at the end of 1980 to work out a draft law on trade unions, told PAP.

"This intention guided the whole fifth chapter of the law devoted to collective disputes and the right to strike.

"In 1981, the very inclusion in the law of the definition of a strike evoked controversies. The law provides for the admissibility of strikes exclusively for economic and social reasons, while some experts of 'Solidarnosc' wanted to legalize strikes of a political nature. They wanted to create the legal grounds for a 'permanent strike' as a permanent instrument of exerting pressure on the authorities, contrary to the letter and spirit of social agreements. After a tempestuous and at times even dramatic discussion, the team in the end did not accept this concept.

"The advantage was taken by the concept of a strike as a last resort, which could be used solely after other, mediatory ways of solving the dispute, failed. Under the law, when a conflict arises trade unions and administrative bodies are obligated to enter negotiations. If these negotiations fail, another attempt may be made to solve the dispute—arbitration conducted by a special 6-person committee equally representing both sides of the conflict. If this also fails then the sides have to turn to a social arbitration college at a court. If all these steps end in failure then the proclamation of a strike is possible."

One of the conditions of proclaiming a strike—apart from the acceptance of this decision by the majority of the crew in a secret ballot—is gaining the approval of a higher union body.

Due to the fact that in the federation structure which currently dominates in the Polish trade union movement there is no such a body, the majority of union statutes say that the federation plays the role of a supreme body in cases envisaged by law.

"At present the requirement of gaining the support of the OPZZ [All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions], after consultations with the National Trade Union Organization—was temporarily—in exceptional socio-economic conditions—given prominence in the law on special powers for the Council of Ministers. This only pertains to collective disputes which result from this law.

"In a socialist state a strike, and especially a wave of strikes, can lead not only to the bankruptcy of the enterprise but also to the ruin of the entire economy. Hence the necessity to very precisely fortify the right to strike. The correctness of the concept of collective disputes adopted in the law on trade unions, which makes possible the execution of the justified economic and social rights of the working people and at the same protects the interests of society and state, was confirmed by life," Zawadzki said.

### PAP Denies French Report on Strikes

*LD2005204788 Warsaw PAP in English*
*1940 GMT 20 May 88*

[Text] Warsaw, May 20—The French paper LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS in its May 18th and 19th issues carried two reports from Poland. They present our

country in a distorted mirror. Much is written in the blackest colours about the problems experienced in everyday life, as well as about strikes and terror. The author of the articles notes a certain success scored by the government's propaganda but goes on to say right afterwards that the opposition has given evidence of its existence and strength, even if the demands of the strikers were not met.

The scale of the movement and the brutality of the repressions—the Paris paper wrote—revitalized the responses of aid which in Poland virtually totally cements society together against the government. That is just it. An anti-state accent appears once again towards the end of the publication together with the statement that people have realized that they can survive without the state. The prophecy of strikes once again looms over Poland—LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS forecasts that strikes will begin anew.

The articles are signed by special correspondent Jean Ryss. To make them more credible their author quotes several interlocutors. Meanwhile—according to reliable information gained by a PAP journalist—there is no French journalist by that name in Poland nor was there in the recent past.

Thus, the stories carried by LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS were fabricated on the wave of anti-Polish propaganda unleashed recently in the West. In this propaganda aggression the goal which is to hit out against Poland justifies all means.

## Bejger, Others Discuss Reform

*AU1905193688 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 May 88 p 2*

[Zbigniew Wrobel report: "Party Conclusions and Tasks"]

[Text] An assessment of the preparations for the People's Council elections and performance in carrying out the 1986 socioeconomic tasks in Gdansk Voivodship was the subject of the 16 May plenum of the Gdansk Voivodship PZPR Committee.

Opening the talks, Stanislaw Bejger, PZPR Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the Gdansk party committee, said: We are holding our plenary session after having overcome a difficult and dangerous phase of accumulated tension, unrest, and social dissatisfaction, caused by fears about the standard of living and the lack of visible effects of the economic reform, and especially by the economic imbalance, price increases, and low supply of many market commodities. This created high pressure on wage increases. Taking advantage of this social dissatisfaction based on an economic background, the political adversary tried to make the protests political and demanded that the former "Solidarity" be legalized.

Generally, the scenario was similar. The adversaries began by setting up a well-organized "storm group," which tried to call the work force out on strike. Next, a strike committee appeared, which presented its demands and picketed gates or occupied various plant premises wherever possible. This action received immediate propaganda support from various foreign mass media and various antisocialist centers at home and abroad.

Analyzing the causes and course of the events on the coast, we can say with all certainty that we were faced with a serious attempt by extremist forces belonging to the former "Solidarity" and other antisocialist elements to compete with the rule of the people and our party for influence on the masses, especially the workers class.

This trial of strength was unnecessary, because it caused a heavy loss, especially an economic loss. In spite of everything, it has shown that the working masses did not support the extremists, because they understood that the strikes were not in their interest and that the strike organizers were not interested in serious talks on how to improve the standard of living, but only in having their political objectives recognized.

I am not hiding the fact that, during these events, we were criticized from many directions and received suggestions on various kinds of action. We examined them carefully and considered their pluses and minuses. I think that, all in all, we adopted the correct strategy and tactics in view of our situation, tactics which led to political solutions that were favorable to the working people, where there were no victors or vanquished, and where the help of everyone concerned with a proper solution to the conflicts was employed.

I think that we have many reasons to perform self-criticism and that we have a lot to do to remove the various shortcomings in our party work. Working people have criticized our activity, especially its sluggishness, and have voiced their fears about its effects. Nevertheless they have become convinced that the opposition has no clear alternative, credible plans that would give them a better future.

We consider the working people's lack of support for the activity of the extreme "Solidarity" to be a support for our own program of democratization and economic reform—which has to be turned into energetic activity right now. Right now we must make an in-depth analysis of the existent situation, the neglect, improper action, and weak effects of our work, and draw practical conclusions from all this and quickly implement them. Complacency because of the return to normal would have a destabilizing effect and would hamper our work. We must become sensitive to any sign of dissatisfaction and quickly remove the sources of conflicts inside plants with the help of the trade unions on the one hand, and the

managements and workers' councils on the other. Although this is difficult, factory party organizations must learn to act as mediators in solving conflicts, concluded S. Bejger.

The experience gained during the present period of implementing a subsequent stage of economic changes has permitted positive economic results. For example, industrial output has risen by 14 percent this year, and agriculture on the coast displays a similar trend. However, this favorable picture will have to be adjusted after the production losses caused by the work stoppage at the Lenin Shipyard have been taken into account. After all, the shipyard accounted for 5 percent of the region's total sold production last year.

The Lenin Shipyard's workers' council, trade union, management, and party committee are together preparing, as quickly as possible, a program for making good the losses, said Wiktor Borcuch, first secretary of the Lenin shipyard PZPR Committee. It is certain that the workforce will have to sacrifice a few free Saturdays and work longer shifts in order to do this. Applying the solutions of the second stage of the reform, the dockers will not abandon the plan to make the shipyard completely self-financing by 1990-1, and heal its economic condition.

The process of implementing the second stage of the reform, said Henryk Pilarski, director of the "Hydroster" plant, requires resilience and patience, and also calls for a quicker end to stereotyped decisions, a new pattern of conduct by cadres, and a transfer from "officiating" to "acting."

Presenting the present negative experience gained from implementing the reform, the plenum participants underlined the duty of party organizations to abandon their belief that an effortless way out of the present difficulties is possible.

In its resolution, the plenum highlighted the region's most important tasks in implementing the second stage of the reform at the present time. By secret ballot the plenum approved candidates for the post of people's councillor.

## Wroclaw Pacifists End Hunger Strike

*LD2205213788 Hamburg DPA in German 1717 GMT 22 May 88*

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—In Wroclaw on Sunday 26 young Polish pacifists ended their hunger strike, which they began a week ago. Their action was in support of the demand that conscientious objector Slawomir Dutkiewicz, who has been on hunger strike since his arrest in November 1987, be released. They also called for the release of the approximately 12 other members of the "Freedom and Peace" (WIP) pacifist group who are in prison for refusing military service.

The spokesman of the hunger strikers announced in Warsaw that in a letter to the Soviet Defense Ministry they have drawn attention to the fate of the Ukrainian Oleg Balake, [name as received] who had served a 2-and-1/2-year prison sentence for refusing military service and who had now received another call-up. The hunger strike was coordinated with groups from the CSSR and Hungary, which also support the right to refuse military service.

## TU Accord's R. Sosnowski Interviewed

*PM1905125788 Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 7-8 May 88 p 2*

[Interview with Romuald Sosnowski, deputy chairman of National Trade Union Accord, by KAR correspondent Irena Scholl; date and place not given]

[Text] [Scholl] The official attitude of the OPZZ Executive Committee, declared 5 May and concerning the present situation in our country is seen as sharp and resolute. Among other things, you have spoken of erroneous decisions involving prices and wages, which contribute to raising the rate of inflation.

[Sosnowski] In our opinion the systems of wages and taxation ought to encourage effort and foster higher productivity and economical management of resources in all areas. In reality they do not perform this function. For example, the tax on individual remuneration [in excess of the normative limit] has become, as it were, a negation of the principle of reevaluation of jobs. Enterprises find it more profitable to employ larger numbers of lower-paid employees than to have smaller but higher-paid work forces. That is because the second group will be liable to lower taxation [as published].

The present taxation system does not offer work forces any attractive motivation for introducing any technical or organizational improvements or saving materials, components, or energy. We keep hearing the following questions—as, for instance, just recently during discussions among groups of local transport workers: What could possibly encourage us to make savings to conserve our tire stocks or precious fuel, or to eliminate en route breakdowns? After all, if the enterprise awards us bonus payments for it, these extra payments will be taxed too, and consequently there will be no funds for regular wages... What sort of encouragement is that?

We get the impression that a lot of mechanisms which might give the impetus to turn the wheels of the reform have been, as it were, enclosed in tightly fitting casings that have been built in the past period.

[Scholl] In your statement on the bill on the extraordinary powers and prerogatives to be granted to the Council of Ministers you object to the proposed suspension of any rights or competences of the trade unions.

[Sosnowski] We oppose it because it calls into question not only the realization of the resolutions adopted by our congress, but also the realization of party resolutions in favor of a democratization of life in our country.

We want to believe Prof Zdzislaw Sadowski and his team when they say that real wages will be maintained at a constant level. The practice of the past 4 months has demonstrated that viewing the movement of prices and wages in the perspective of "averaging" them is incorrect. According to our surveys real wages have been decreasing in many occupational groups, particularly in economic units financed out of the official budget, but also in many enterprises. Therefore the freezing of wages, even if it is linked with the freezing of negotiated prices, is an operation that comes too late, because the prices of the basic staple commodities had already gone up, which in turn caused social unrest.

[Scholl] But the market may "collapse," as the representatives of economic administration constantly point out.

[Sosnowski] And that is why we could say that to a certain extent both sides are right. That is why, in our opinion, the trade unions, representing the working people, should be left the chance of influencing the correct correlations between prices and wages. And, as I have already said, it is necessary to strengthen the motivational function of these correlations. As it is at the moment, people say to us: "I do not find it worthwhile to earn more because if my wages exceed Z40,000 [per month] I shall lose my entitlement to family supplement. So it is better for my wife to stop working. Then my wage will stay at the same level and our income from the supplements I shall draw for her and our three children will be higher than if I had to make an extra effort to work harder.

[Scholl] Are you not afraid that you might be charged with opposing the achievements of our social benefits system?

[Sosnowski] We oppose all absurdities. There is a pressing need to carry out a comprehensive analysis of the first 4 months of this year and to join forces in removing the barriers which delay a fuller implementation of the second stage of the reform. This, however, concerns not only the central level of management. It is necessary to talk as partners within enterprises, too.

[Scholl] On the principle of give and take?

[Sosnowski] How else? Our unions can be counted upon to encourage higher production and productivity but only when enterprise management sees to it that working conditions and pay levels are improved, and social benefits are kept at the same level.

In my opinion it is necessary to take a close look at every enterprise and every unit within every enterprise because there is untapped potential in manpower structure and materials management virtually everywhere. And then we should all—that is, administration together with workers' self-management and the union—work out concrete programs and begin to put them into practice.

Here at the central level we must simply provide the necessary conditions for the reform to be finally launched with full speed. But another thing that is at least as necessary is that at enterprise level we should move from too much talking and sterile arguments to concrete work bringing tangible, creative results.

### Miodowicz Gives 'Standpoint' on TU Pluralism

*LD2205171588 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1049 GMT 22 May 88*

[Text] [Announcer] I now present to you KONFRONTACJE. This is a new journal. The fourth edition has just come out, published under the auspices of the PRON. Here is a fragment of an interview with Alfred Miodowicz:

[Question] What is your standpoint on the postulate of trade union pluralism?

[Answer] Sir, the experiences of the years 1980-81 and also union practice in such countries as Austria or the FRG among others proves that it is possible to agree with pluralistic political and world-view orientations insofar as they fit into constitutional frameworks. We acknowledge other union organizations that do not like the OPZZ formula and that of its member organizations. That is how we understand pluralism. On the other hand, the pluralism postulate put forward by the opposition circles has something else as its purposes. The point there is the possibility of two opposed trade unions functioning in one work enterprise.

I have a few questions for the supporters of pluralism thus understood. Does it not signify the fragmentation of the trade union movement, and thus the obvious weakening of activities which are to the benefit of its members? Would not such pluralism cause a departure from the general line resting on defense of the interests of workers in favor of a sterile competition to attract members? In no factory, enterprise, or office are there two interests and one workforce. That is why our understanding of pluralism rejects that version which divides the total workforce and (?causes) claims [rewindykacje] and concessions, and finally leads to the weakening of the trade union movement.

[Question] Would you meet with Lech Walesa if this were to improve the social mood and inspire people with new faith?

[Answer] I was set an identical question at a press conference in Yugoslavia. And since little has changed since that time I will reply identically to it. I do not exclude the possibility of such a meeting. What would be significant here would be what would come of this

meeting, for the point would not be to look deeply into each others eyes. If this was to be a spectacular meeting, in fact, then I would have to find acknowledgement of acceptance for such an initiative in my milieu. And similarly, probably, to Lech Walesa in his, says Alfred Miodowicz in an interview with a journalist of the monthly KONFRONTACJE.

### Gorbachev Refers to Polish Reform in Interview

*LD2205222988 Warsaw PAP in English*
*2148 GMT 22 May 88*

[Text] Warsaw, May 22—TASS today published the contents of Mikhail Gorbachev's meeting with editors of THE WASHINGTON POST and NEWSWEEK. This extensive interview has a reference to Poland, which we are carrying below. (Translation from the Polish).

Question: Mr Gorbachev, you wrote about the restructuring of international relations, especially relations between socialist countries.

You wrote very clearly that each country should have the absolute right to choose its own road of development: capitalism, socialism or any other variant of the road. I would like to ask to what extent and how does this refer to the socialist countries of Eastern Europe. For example, in Poland there are elements of society who speak in favour such a pluralist system in which the Communist Party would, perhaps, not play the leading role.

To what extent is this acceptable for you, to what extent is this bearable.

Gorbachev: I think that it would be better to put your question to the Polish leadership. This would be in line with the starting point of your question. Nonetheless, I would like to say a few words.

We accept the right of every nation, regardless of which part of the world it lives in, to social choice, to choose the road of perfecting their society. I think that the Polish nation is better aware of what it should currently do for Poland to gather strength, fortify and for her development to bring benefits to the nation.

What we do in our own country is our affair. Perestroyka was born in our conditions. We need it. We will implement it, develop it far and wide. But we are not enforcing our methods of development and perfecting society on anybody. This is an individual matter. I think that the Poles will find out what they should do to develop Poland. I am convinced that a basic majority of people, a vast majority of Polish society, speaks in favour of going along the road which they entered after the war." [closing quotation marks as received]

### PAP Reviews Messner Visit, Talks in SFRY

*LD2105002788 Warsaw PAP in English*
*2147 GMT 20 May 88*

[Text] Belgrade, May 20—On the second day of his official, friendly visit to Yugoslavia Chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, member of the PUWP CC Political Bureau Zbigniew Messner was received by President of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Bosko Krunic at the office of the party's Central Committee here this morning.

During a conversation held in a cordial and friendly atmosphere the two statesmen positively evaluated Polish-Yugoslav relations, including the contacts and cooperation between the PUWP and the LCY.

Also before noon today, there was the second and last round of talks between Zbigniew Messner and Branko Mikulic. In their closing talks the two premiers stressed that both sides would take necessary actions to ensure the planned level of trade during this year. The Yugoslav side bowed to the Polish proposal of developing a programme for economic, scientific, and technological cooperation by 2000. Meanwhile, work will start this year on the coordination of the Polish and Yugoslav economic plans for the period 1991-95.

During the meeting Premier Messner invited Yugoslav Prime Minister Branko Mikulic to pay an official visit to Poland.

At noon Prime Minister Messner was received at the White Manor by President of the collective Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Raif Dizdarevic. They discussed the state of relations between Poland and Yugoslavia and talked about international affairs.

In the afternoon, Premier Messner held a press conference in the course of which he characterized at length the topics and results of his Belgrade talks dlwith leading personalities of the federation.

The Polish prime minister stressed that the talks were very concrete. He also recalled Polish stand on key problems of international life.

After the press conference, the Polish premier accompanied by his wife and other members of the delegation made his way for the Beograd Airport, where an official farewell ceremony was held, thus ending the official part of Zbigniew Messner's visit here.

In the afternoon, Messner's special airplane set on a course for Pula in the Republic of Croatia, where the Polish premier and other guests were welcomed by representatives of the authorities of the Socialist Repub-

lic of Croatia headed by President of the Croatian Executive Council (government) Antun Milovic.

Next, the Polish delegation left for Brioni, where Zbigniew Messner and Antun Milovic held talks in the presence of officials and advisers accompanying them.

In the evening, President of the Executive Council Antun Milovic entertained the Polish prime minister to a dinner in his honour.

## Returns From SFRY Visit

*LD2105205188 Warsaw PAP in English 1939 GMT 21 May 88*

[Text] Warsaw, May 21—Polish Premier Zbigniew Messner returned to this country tonight after his Yugoslav visit.

He was greeted at the airport here by Jozef Czyrek, Marian Orzechowski, Zbigniew Szalajda, Michal Janiszewski and Ernest Kucza.

## PEC Meeting Discusses Gromyko's Visit

*AU2005200088 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1924 GMT 20 May 88*

["Meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP—a Substantial Contribution to the Strengthening of Romanian-Soviet Friendship"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 20/05/1988—During its May 20 meeting, the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP were informed of the official visit of friendship Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPSU, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, paid to Romania over May 10-14.

The Executive Political Committee considered that, owing to its results, the visit went down as a new, substantial contribution to the continuous strengthening of Romanian-Soviet friendship and collaboration.

Emphasis was placed on the deciding role of summit dialogue in the sustained promotion of bilateral relations. In that context, the importance was underscored of the understandings reached between Nicolae Ceausescu and Mikhail Gorbachev during their meetings in Bucharest and Moscow, which opened further prospects to the development of links between the two parties, countries and peoples. In that framework, the exchanges of opinions between Nicolae Ceausescu and Andrey Gromyko were shown to have highlighted a joint wish to unswervingly implement the accords and understandings reached at top level, to impart broader dimensions and an ever richer content to Romanian-Soviet collaboration and cooperation. Stress was laid on the importance of the conclusions reached during the talks in connection with the expansion and diversification of economic exchanges, of cooperation in and specialization of production in various areas of mutual interest, in keeping with the long-term programme for the development of economic, technical and scientific collaboration between Romania and the USSR until the year 2000.

The Executive Political Committee also highlighted the significance of the exchange of views between Nicolae Ceausescu and Andrey Gromyko on the course of the international situation. Special appreciation was expressed for the fact that during the talks the will of Romania and of the Soviet Union had been reasserted to cooperate actively in the world arena, to further act, alongside the other socialist countries, the progressive, democratic forces everywhere, for the cessation of the arms race and the achievement of a firm passage to disarmament, nuclear disarmament in the first place, for the peaceful, negotiated settlement of all interstate litigations, for the eradication of underdevelopment and the establishment of a climate of detente, security, peace, understanding and broad international collaboration in Europe and in the world.

Unanimously approving of the results of the visit, the Executive Political Committee requested the government, the ministries, the other central bodies and institutions to take every necessary step for the implementation of the understandings and accords reached at summit level, for the exemplary fulfilment of envisaged collaboration projects, for the manysided development of Romanian-Soviet cooperation.

## Comparison of Gromyko 11 May Dinner Speech

AU1605193888 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 12 May carries on pages 1 and 3 the 1,500-word report on "Comrade Andrey Gromyko's Toast" at a dinner President Nicolae Ceausescu gave in his honor, on 11 May in Bucharest. The SCINTEIA report has been compared with the Moscow TASS International Service in Russian version published in the 12 May 1988 Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 38-41, revealing the following variations:

Page 38, column two, paragraph one, sentence one, to beginning of first sentence, paragraph seven, reads in SCINTEIA: ... [Text] In his toast, Comrade Andrey Gromyko thanked Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania, for the invitation to visit Romania and for the warm reception extended to him. The speaker said:

I have visited .... (omitting first six paragraphs, supplying new wording)

Page 38, column two, paragraph seven, end of last sentence to paragraph eight, beginning of first sentence, reads in SCINTEIA: ... Republic of Romania. [new paragraph]

Referring to the Romanian-Soviet economic relations, the speaker said: Our relations have .... (supplying third person interpolations)

Page 38, column two, last paragraph, end of last sentence, to first paragraph on Page 39, third sentence, reads in SCINTEIA ... of Soviet soldiers. [new paragraph]

It may be rightly said—the speaker continued—that since those times when the Romanian-Soviet relations have been nurtured from a fountain of friendship that has become strengthened by the common nature of their goals in building socialism.

Then, Comrade A.A. Gromyko spoke about the restructuring process in the USSR, on the basis of the orientations set forth by the 27th CPSU Congress. This course is personified in the comprehensive word "perestroyka." It means that .... (omitting paragraphs one, two, three, four, and beginning of paragraph five, on column one of page 39, and supplying SCINTEIA version)

Page 39, column one, paragraph five, end of sentence three, to last paragraph on column, sentence one, reads in SCINTEIA: ... of Soviet society. [new paragraph]

Further the speaker said: The tasks we face .... (deleting end of paragraph five, and paragraphs six, seven, and eight, and supplying third person interpolation)

Page 30, column two, paragraph seven, end of last sentence, to Page 40, column one, last paragraph, reads in SCINTEIA: ... our countries' representatives. [new paragraph]

Referring to some international issues, the speaker said: The beneficial influence ... (omitting paragraph eight, page 39, column two, up to last paragraph, column one, page 40)

Page 40, column two, paragraph eight, last sentence, to end of item, reads in SCINTEIA: ... trust in Europe. [new paragraph]

In conclusion, Comrade A.A. Gromyko extended the working people in our country wishes for new successes in implementing the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and of the RCP National Conference and wishes for happiness and prosperity. Likewise, he wished for the strengthening of the unflinching friendship between our countries and people. (replacing last three paragraphs with SCINTEIA version)

**Comparison of Ceausescu Speech at Gromyko Dinner**

AU1605144788 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 12 May carries on pages 1 and 3 a 2,100-word report on "Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Toast" at the dinner he gave in honor of A.A. Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, on 11 May in Bucharest. The SCINTEIA report has been compared with the Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian version published in the 17 May 1988 Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 37-39, revealing the following variations:

Page 37, column one, paragraph one, beginning of first sentence, reads in SCINTEIA: ... [Text] In his toast, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu extended cordial greetings to Comrade A.A. Gromyko and to the Soviet guests accompanying him and most warmly welcomed them on Romanian soil. [new paragraph]

Your visit—Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said—is a new .... (omitting first four paragraphs, changing beginning of item)

Page 37, column two, paragraph one, end of first sentence to beginning of second sentence, reads in SCINTEIA: ... the historical past, said Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, adding: at certain times .... (adding third person interpolation)

Page 37, column two, paragraph one, sentence four, reads in SCINTEIA: ... "Potemkin" during the 1905 revolution, and in .... (deleting "-1907")

Page 37, column two, paragraph two, sentence one, reads in SCINTEIA:... have developed strongly in all areas over the years .... (supplying "in all areas")

Page 37, column two, paragraph three, first sentence, reads in SCINTEIA: ... fully resolved to continue to do everything to .... (supplying "continue to ")

Page 38, column one, end of paragraph two, beginning of paragraph three, reads in SCINTEIA: .... of mutual interest. [new paragraph]

Further Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said: This visit gives .... (supplying third person interpolation)

Page 38, column one, paragraph four, only sentence, reads in SCINTEIA: ... the general principles of scientific socialism and of the generally valid truths to the specific conditions .... (omitting "and laws of socialism in" and supplying elements)

Same paragraph, end of sentence, to beginning of paragraph five, first sentence, reads in SCINTEIA: ...the new system. [new paragraph]

Further the RCP secretary general said: Communists and our .... (supplying third person interpolation)

Page 38, column two, paragraph two, only sentence, through paragraph four, first sentence reads in SCINTEIA: ... and happy life. (new paragraph)

Referring to some international issues, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said: the international situation .... (omitting "Esteemed Comrades" and supplying third person interpolation)

Page 39, column one, paragraph continued from last page, last sentence to first full paragraph, first sentence, reads in SCINTEIA: ... devastating nuclear war. Within this context, it would be greatly important to sign an agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States, on a 50-percent reduction of strategic weapons. Mankind's future cannot .... (supplying additional passage, running the two paragraphs together)

Page 39, column one, first full paragraph, last sentence to paragraph paragraph two, beginning of first sentence, reads in SCINTEIA: ...between all states. The new way of economic thinking has to assert itself under very serious conditions of struggle. This thinking must be accompanied by a new policy and by truly new relations between all the countries of the world. [new paragraph]

Romania consistently pursues .... (supplying additional passage)

Page 39, column one, last paragraph, last sentence, to first paragraph on column two, first sentence reads in SCINTEIA: ... all peoples depends. [new paragraph]

In conclusion, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu expressed confidence that the visit paid by A.A. Gromyko to Romania will make a new and important contribution to the development of the Romanian-Soviet relations and he proposed a toast .... (rewording sentence, supplying third person interpolations)

**Radu Released, To Be Given 'Other Duties'**
*AU2005202388 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1945 GMT 20 May 88*

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 20/5/1988—In order to provide unitary coordination and to improve the activity in the area of the machine building and heavy equipment industry, by decree of Romania's Council of Ministers, the Ministry of Machine Building Industry has been set up, joining the Ministry of Heavy Equipment Industry and the Ministry of Machine Building Industry, which cease to function.

Radu Paunescu has been appointed minister of the machine building industry.

By presidential decree, Constantin Radu has been released from office as deputy prime minister, and is to be given other duties.

**'Right to Interference'in Others' Affairs Rejected**
*AU2105143988 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1259 GMT 21 May 88*

["SCINTEIA on the Peoples' Right to Choose Their Development Path"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 21/05/1988—In a commentary in the series devoted to the theses in the exposition President Nicolae Ceausescu read at the meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the RCP, "SCINTEIA" underlines that this document focuses on the urgent necessity to promote and generalize a new way of international political thinking and action apt to liquidate the policy of interference in other states' internal affairs, to lead to the firm observance of the peoples' right to independently decide their development. The commentary shows inter alia:

Many times in the last years President Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized requirements and desiderata that are the main features of the new way of thinking, from the general acceptance of the principle of peaceful coexistence to the necessity of all peoples' economic and social development and from the rejection of the policy of force and the political settlement of all litigious issues to the building of an atmosphere of confidence and cooperation in interstate relations where peoples could build their life according to their wish.

Among those closely connected requirements and imperatives which complete and condition one another, special importance has the complete and total elimination of any interference, of any intervention in other peoples' affairs.

The acute necessity to fully liquidate the interference and intervention practices derives from the very consequences of those practices upon the whole world climate, affecting the international relations ensemble.

The historical experience fully proves that interferences, of any kind and of any form, seriously endanger the norms and principles that should reign over interstate relations. Owing to their content, those norms and principles form an organic whole none of which can be overlooked, violated or ignored without violating or defying all the other principles. So, one cannot speak about the observance of national independence and sovereignty in the conditions of outside interference. Such notions are exclude each other. Life has proved the total unsubstantiality of any attempts to "reconcile" those contrary and irreconcilable notions, to motivate interferences by "theorizations" such as partially or locally applicable sovereignties. Sovereignty can be but complete, thorough, and that logically presupposes the elimination of interference, regardless of its form or aspect. The same stands true for any other kind of intrusions which represent a flagrant infringement of the principle of equality of rights. When interference appears equality is devoided of its content, a state assumes its "right" to interfere into another state's affairs, while the latter has only the "right" to bear the interference. That is the "equality of rights" between a vassal and his suzerain, between ruler and the ruled one. The interference disregards each people's indefensible and imprescriptible right to be master of each own fate, to organize its own life and to choose its development path as it wishes in accordance with each country's conditions and particularities. The full assertion of this right implicitly means the rigorous observance of the principle of non-interference, of non-intervention.

Generally, it can be said that any violation of this principle means a failure to observe and a violation of all fundamental rights of states and peoples the way they are recognized internationally, even in documents of universal vocation, starting with the UN Charter itself.

Developments in world arena however show that there are unfortunately more than one case and instance of disregard and violation of this principle—which greatly contributes to the maintenance of grave and complex issues, of states of tension and conflict.

No doubt, the most direct and brutal form of disregarding this requirement is the recourse to weapons, to military intervention. And while cases of direct interstate war are fewer, the so-called local conflicts or wars have however proliferated considerably and they are almost with no exception connected with foreign interference.

Interference in other peoples' affairs is harmful not only when it pursues reactionary ends, the stifling of the struggle and aspirations after freedom and progress. The consequences of interference are negative even when it is conducted in the name of progressive purposes—as the artificial forcing of the people's will, of the subjective and objective factors, the disregard of the concrete conditions, the reaction to foreign military intervention ultimately lead to the undermining even of the revolutionary cause. Solidarity must not be taken for military intervention just like, in fact, it cannot be compatible with any form of interference. Life itself confirms over and over again the correctness of the Marxist thesis regarding the inadmissibility and lack of perspective of the export of both revolution and contrarevolution which are actually nothing but forms of interference in other states' affairs.

Reiterating Romania's principled stand on the necessity of political settlement of any dispute, the RCP general secretary disclosed, as a common conclusion in view of of viable settlement of all these conflicts, and of other, similar ones, the necessity to always start from the steady observance of the peoples' right to free, independent development, free of any foreign interference.

Even if not conducive to so grave situations as when armed intervention is resorted to, the interference in internal affairs in form of economic pressure and conditioning is no less harmful for the inter-state climate and relations. Reality shows that the international commercial exchanges and economic cooperation are seriously harmed by the obtaining restrictive practices, artificial obstacles and barriers—including arbitrary actions in employing instruments meant to ensure reciprocity of advantages, like the most-favoured-nation clause, many of them being used in order to impose the acceptance of terms or requirements that are unbearable for any independent and sovereign state. Such practices that are the outgrowth of the old way of thinking must be resolutely rejected, as the conduct of equitable economic exchanges as a material base for detente and security require necessarily the elimination of any interference that, even if related to economy, have an unquestionable—and inadmissible—political character.

Just as inadmissible are the stands of those who claim to be "advisers" of others, who, instead of taking care of their own affairs, "minding their own business" as it is said, assume the right to "recommend" to others how to "administrate themselves" how to settle their affairs. Such attempts can only harm the confidence, undermine the understanding and good neighbourliness that are expected to characterize the relations among independent and sovereign states, generate or reopen animosities, and they have most firmly to be rejected.

It can be assessed that a disregard, no matter in what form, of the principle of non-interference generates multiple negative effects entailing most serious risks for the cause of international peace and understanding. The outstanding importance Socialist Romania, its president attach to the strict observance of this principle derives from the fact that this is one of the basic conditions meant to guarantee the peaceful coexistence among nations, to create a congenial framework for the political settlement of major issues facing mankind, allow for all nations' free development and progress.

**Ceausescu Meets Western Australia's Ex-Premier**
*AU2105143788 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1330 GMT 21 May 88*

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 21/5/1988—Saturday, 21 May, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, received the visiting former prime minister of Western Australia, Brian Thomas Burke.

The guest warmly thanked for the reception, for the possibility to visit Romania again, and conveyed President Nicolae Ceausescu cordial greetings from the prime minister of Australia, Robert Hawke, and from the prime minister of Western Australia, Peter Dowding.

President Nicolae Ceausescu thanked and conveyed his greetings and best wishes to the prime minister of Australia and to the prime minister of Western Australia.

The good relations between Romania and Australia, and the potential for their future development were emphasized during the meeting.

In that framework, the guest underscored the great significance of the official visit to Australia of President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mme Elena Ceausescu that was landmark in the evolution of the Romanian-Australian relationship.

The wish was expressed for action to implement the high-level understandings, to further expand and diversify the cooperation between Romania and Australia, bilaterally and internationally, in the mutual interest, in the interest of the cause of world peace and understanding.

The meeting was attended by Ilie Vaduva, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation.

**Commentary Approves Soviets Leaving Afghanistan**
*AU2005161988 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 May 88 p 2*

[Dragan Vuckevic commentary: "Army Columns Without Return"]

[Text] The first column of Soviet soldiers, not counting the October 1986 rehearsal, left Afghanistan for home on 15 May 1988 in the way outlined by the April agreement in Geneva. Columns of Mujahidin, armed to the teeth, also moved out of Pakistan to occupy the abandoned Soviet camps in their homeland. The Geneva agreement did not provide for this, but such a return of rebels cannot be considered a great surprise.

In the Afghan civil war, which lasted 8.5 years, there was much that was unpredictable, because not only Afghans were involved in it. This mark of a bloody war cannot be wiped away. However, it is worth hoping that all those columns that are moving out, as well as the ones that will move out, will finally be army columns who will not return. The Soviet soldiers' place is in their homeland, and the Mujahidin's is in Afghanistan where they might find solutions for national reconciliation through their own efforts and the efforts of their countrymen.

Few people nowadays can say whether, and particularly when, national reconciliation will be reached in Afghanistan, whose 15 million or so inhabitants have paid too high a price for the civil war. However, the conviction that has recently been expressed in Moscow, Washington, Islamabad, and other capital cities, gives a fair amount of hope that if the Afghans still want to they will in the future fight by themselves. Even this is a step closer to peace than in previous years.

The sincerity of the new Soviet policy can no longer be doubted. Especially not the desire of the Soviet nation, weary of the Afghan war about which they knew too little until recently, to forget December 1979 when its army marched into the neighboring country. There was still doubt about such a desire in the summer of 1986, when Gorbachev announced in Vladivostok the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and Mongolia.

It was a long road from distrust to trust. There were, of course, serious reasons for this. As long ago as 1979, the Politburo deliberated for a long time while it made a decision on the intervention in Afghanistan, which it unconvincingly justified with the agreement signed by the two countries in 1978 on friendship, cooperation, and the offering of military assistance. According to the latest "revelations," six members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo made the decision: Brezhnev, Suslov, Ustinov, Gromyko, Andropov, and Kirilenko. Gromyko is the only one still with us today.

Recently Mikhail Gorbachev attracted the attention of the Soviet public when he spoke of the lessons of the distant and recent past and said that political mistakes are the most costly. Afghanistan is undoubtedly one of these. This is being discussed publicly in the Soviet Union, and internationalism is stressed less and less as the justification for military intervention. The present Soviet military cadres have gained combat experience, but it has been left without almost 30,000 courageous young men. This is too much, but it is not the only price of the Afghan fighting.

Is there any guarantee that outside involvement in Afghan affairs will cease? Eduard Shevardnadze, the Soviet minister for foreign affairs, stresses that the fate of normalization in Afghanistan will depend on the extent to which the countries that signed the Geneva agreement will implement its provisions. His Pakistan colleague Noorani agreed with this and expressed the conviction that Pakistan will not allow its territory to be used for deliveries of arms intended for new destruction in Afghanistan.

These statements are as optimistic as the assessments of the situation are pessimistic in Afghanistan itself, over which Islamic fundamentalism has been looming from neighboring Iran, which could contribute to a flare up in the civil war. The question is therefore asked, can Afghanistan itself attain national reconciliation? Its president, Najibullah, emphasizes that his country must decide this by itself, because it is certain that in the conflict between the warring sides, no matter how long it has lasted, there can be neither a conquering side nor a wholly conquered one.

The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (now in power) has made the concession of freeing its ideology from the "dogmatic" stances from the time of the April revolution of 1978. A similar thing is also expected of the disunited "Islamic Unity of the Afghanistan Mujahidin" who for now have not abandoned the idea of sharing power exclusively among themselves.

It seems that the essence of the relationships involved in Afghanistan could be shown if there is the courage to admit the mistakes of the past, but of course not only on one side. With this, the road to national reconciliation in Afghanistan would be opened up.

**Poland's Messner Concludes Official Visit**

**Meets With Krunic**
*LD2005140888 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 20 May 88*

[Text] Bosko Krunic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, has received Zbigniew Messner, chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic and member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo. In their talks, they positively assessed overall

Yugoslav-Polish relations, as well as relations and cooperation between the two parties. They expressed readiness to develop relations on the well-known established principles, and stressed the significance of a regular dialogue between the two parties at all levels.

Krunic informed his guest about LCY activities in developing the economic and political system, and in redefining the LCY's own role in society, and outlined its methods of political work.

The high-ranking guest spokes about the current internal situation in Poland, and stressed in particular the determination of the PZPR and other democratic forces in the country to consistently implement the program of socialist development and economic and social reforms, though this is a very complex process and they are dealing with many inherited difficulties in Poland.

### Warsaw Radio Reports Meeting

*LD2005134288 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 20 May 88*

[Text] Let us listen to a report from Tadeusz Szamitowski in Belgrade.

[Szamitowski] In the morning, Premier Messner, who is also a member of the PZPR inner leadership, was received by Bosko Krunic, the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. They discussed, among other things, the development of interparty cooperation, and the place and role of both parties in the transformations taking place in the socioeconomic and political life in both states. Soon in Yugoslavia, the LCY national party conference will address the subject of the composite reform program.

International subjects were also raised at the meeting. Premier Messner still has in his plans for today a meeting with Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY presidency, who as is known, up until recently was the Yugoslav foreign minister. One can therefore imagine that at that meeting international problems will dominate, including, most certainly, talk about both our states' initiatives serving the strengthening of peace and security.

### Received by Dizdarevic

*LD2105043088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1250 GMT 20 May 88*

[Text] Belgrade, 20 May (TANJUG)—Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, today received Polish Premier Zbigniew Messner. During the talks, both sides expressed satisfaction at the successful development of bilateral cooperation and the continual dialogue at the top political level.

The existing high level in relations between Yugoslavia and Poland creates conditions for even better results, especially in economic cooperation, stressed Dizdarevic and Messner.

Dwelling on the situation in Europe, Dizdarevic and Messner drew attention to the importance of the contribution that Yugoslavia and Poland give to the consolidation of security and cooperation on the old continent

### Holds Concluding Talks With Mikulic

*LD2005140988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1255 GMT 20 May 88*

[Text] Belgrade, 20 May (TANJUG)—Through various concrete activities, Yugoslavia and Poland will be involved in comprehensive improvement of bilateral relations, particularly in economics, it was stressed today in final talks betwen FEC President Branko Mikulic and Polish Premier Zbigniew Messner.

In this connection, several conclusions, adopted in meetings held previously between departmental associates of the two premiers, were passed on to Mikulic and Messner.

It is necessary, as is stated in precise terms, that both sides undertake appropriate steps to realize the planned level of trade of $854,000,000 this year. A great deal of effort should be spent since, according to the trade protocol, the number of concluding agreements has decreased so far to 66 percent of the envisaged level in the first months). Trade, therefore, should be "pushed" since it has been lagging behind.

The Yugoslav side accepted the Polish idea that an agreement on economic and scientific-technical cooperation by the year of 2000 should be prepared. According to Djordje Madzimihailovic, assistant federal secretary for economic relations with foreign countries and one of the participants in the separate talks, it was agreed that the results achieved through scientific-technical cooperation should be applied to concrete aspects of production cooperation.

Mikulic and Messner stressed that in planning cooperation, consideration should be given to strengthening industrial cooperation, the complementary nature of the the two countries' economies, joint investments, and other forms of cooperation at the highest level. It is also necessary to stimulate, besides institutionalized aspects of cooperation, direct ties between enterprises, since this as well can contribute to more dynamic overall economic relations between Yugoslavia and Poland. Certain systemic harmonizations in the economies of the two countries needed to improve their bilateral cooperation will also be welcome.

Mikulic and Messner pointed out great opportunities for cooperation in agriculture, construction, and tourism, which so far have not been fully used. In this connection, they discussed possible involvement of Yugoslav work organizations in competitions that are under way for some construction projects in Poland.

The two sides agreed to go further in developing the initiatives to found a Yugoslav-Polish bank that would minotor joint investments and other aspects of financial and economic bilateral cooperation.

In the final talks, Mikulic and Messner also discussed some questions on international relations. The FEC president and the Polish premier were informed about a more comprehensive dialogue that was held on this theme in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs.

### Holds News Conference

*LD2005180188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1604 GMT 20 May 88*

[Text] Belgrade, 20 May (TANJUG)—My visit to Yugoslavia and the talks I had with Comrades Mikulic, Dizdarevic, and Krunic in Belgrade are very significant. We believe that they will contribute to efforts to consolidate friendly relations between Poland and Yugoslavia in all fields of cooperation, said Polish Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner here today.

Speaking at a news conference at the end of the Belgrade part of his visit, Messner said that economic relations are the central theme of Yugoslav-Polish dialogue. He specified that both sides agree in their assessment that not all possibilities for economic cooperation are being exploited. He added that the promotion of these relations should be achieved through an accord on stimulating direct contacts between Yugoslav and Polish enterprises and setting up joint enterprises with joint capital, partnerships, and other aspects of advanced cooperation. However, the talks in Belgrade did not neglect the question of promoting scientific, technical, tourist, cultural, and other forms of cooperation, Messner added.

The head of the Polish Government drew attention to the need to include all countries, regardless of size, in the world process of general detente.

Messner said the debt problem is one of today's most serious problems, especially effecting developing countries. He called on the international community to take the broadest action to resolve the debtors' crisis.

The Polish prime minister said in Poland there is no dialogue with the illegal trade union movement Solidarity, but only with those individuals "of this former movement who wish to discuss the future of Poland."

### Departs for Croatia

*LD2005192788 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 20 May 88*

[Text] The official part of the visit to Belgrade that Zbigniew Messner is paying at the invitation of Branko Mikulic, president of the FEC of Yugoslavia, ended today. Before the departure of the Polish delegation for Pula in Croatia, a formal farewell ceremony was held at the airport, in which Premier Branko Mikulic took part.

### Greeted by Croat Official

*LD2005182588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1737 GMT 20 May 88*

[Text] Brioni, 20 May (TANJUG)—Zbigniew Messner, head of the Polish Government, who is on a 3-day official friendly visit to Yugoslavia that began yesterday, arrived in Brioni before 1900. The high-ranking guest, accompanied by FEC member Radoje Kontic and Branko Puharic, our ambassador to Poland, was greeted at Pula Airport by Antun Milovic, president of the Croatian Executive Council. The ceremony was also attended by a number of representatives of Pula Municipality.

After his arrival in Brioni, talks started at the Neptun Hotel between the Polish and Croatian delegations.

Antun Milovic, president of the Croatian Executive Council, will give dinner at the Istra Hotel in Brioni this evening in honor of the Polish prime minister.

### Holds Talks in Croatia

*LD2105105188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2056 GMT 20 May 88*

[Text] Brioni, 20 May (TANJUG)—There are plenty of possibilities for the expansion of economic cooperation between Yugoslavia and Poland and, within this framework, between the SR of Croatia and Poland. This was stressed this evening during the talks in Brioni between Zbigniew Messner, head of the Polish government, and Antun Milovic, president of the Croat Executive Council. The talks were also attended by members of the Polish delegation and a number of eminent businessmen of Croatia.

Croatia contributes about 10 percent of the overall exports of our country to Poland and accounts for over 16 percent of the imports from that country. During the talks this evening, the two sides pointed out a number of examples of successful cooperation, but also drew attention to numerous unexplored possibilities of exchange, specialization, and cooperation, as well as transfer of technology and knowledge. Special emphasis in the series of fields for the promotion of economic cooperation was laid on tourism, with possibilities of development in both directions.

Within this framework, stress was laid on a possibility of setting up mixed enterprises. In honor of the Polish prime minister and his wife and the members of the Polish delegation, Antun Milovic, president of the Croat Executive Council, gave a banquet at which the Polish prime minister and the president of the Croat Executive Council exchanged toasts.

### Departs After Visit

*LD2105182288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 21 May 88*

[Text] Pula, 21 May (TANJUG)—Polish Premier Zbigniew Messner left Pula by special plane tonight following his 3-day official and friendly visit to Yugoslavia. The Polish premier, his wife, and members of the Polish delegation were given a cordial sendoff.

At Pula Airport, the distinguished guest was warmly seen off by Simo Rajic, vice president of the Croat Executive Council; Ivica Trnokop, member of the Croat Executive Council; and by other people.

### PAP Reports End of Visit

*LD2105201588 Warsaw PAP in English 1913 GMT 21 May 88*

[Text] Belgrade, May 21—Last Friday, having concluded the official part of his friendship visit to Yugoslavia, paid on the invitation of his Yugoslav opposite number Branko Mikulic, Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner spent Saturday in the Republic of Croatia and this was the last day of Polish Government head and Polish delegation in Yugoslavia.

In the evening hours Premier Messner and the other members of the Polish delegation were driven to the airport where the farewell ceremony was attended by vice chairman of the Croatian Government Simo Rajic. The special plane left for Warsaw at 19:00 hrs.

### Messner's Visit 'Impetus' for Cooperation

*AU2205163688 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 22 May 88*

[Branislav Canak commentary from the "Sunday at 10" program]

[Text] Last week, Polish Premier Zbigniew Messner paid a 3-day official and friendly visit our country. The meetings with his hosts, Branko Mikulic, president of the FEC; Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency; and Bosko Krunic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, represent, as was jointly concluded, a new and important impetus for the development of Yugoslav-Polish relations. Here is Branislav Canak's commentary:

It was confirmed that both sides were of the opinion that the classical methods of economic cooperation cannot be used to build relations in modern times. Therefore, it was pointed out that in the future Yugoslavia and Poland will be increasingly developing higher, more modern forms of cooperation. In connection with this, it was concluded that the role of the state and its measures will only represent a framework for the development of these forms of cooperation, while the right initiatives would come from direct contacts between work organizations.

As regards directions for improving economic cooperation, it was stated that the greatest chances exist in agriculture, the food processing industry, the construction industry, and tourism. Poland's needs are great, and Yugoslavia has already shown that some (?achievements) in these branches of economy have put it in the rank of a high capability partners.

In the talks between Zbigniew Messner and his hosts, priority was given to agricultural cooperation, but it was said that this does not mean that other fields such as culture, science, sports, and information exchange will be ignored.

As far as international relations are concerned, Yugoslavia and Poland, despite their different international positions, can cooperate if the aim of this cooperation is peace, security, and progress from all without any exceptions.

### Statement Issued on Slovene Security Situation

*LD2105100688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1432 GMT 20 May 88*

[Text] Ljubljana, 20 May (TANJUG)—"Various rumors have circulated in public recently about the activity of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] and its relations with internal affairs organs in Slovenia. Also originating from them is the public question of the university conferences of the Slovene Socialist Youth Federation in Ljubljana and Maribor. The rumors and question presuppose that the commander of the Ljubljana Army District obtained instructions to check, in contact with leading workers in the Republican Secretariat of Internal Affairs of Slovenia, the extent to which the Slovene authorities are capable of keeping the situation in their own hands" and that allegedly "Slovenia escaped a military coup by a whisker."

The Republican Committee for Information, in connection with this, has gathered information from competent organs and organizations and issued a statement.

"The Military Council met on 25 March this year. This, in accordance with the law on all people's defense, is set up and attached to the Federal Secretariat for National Defense and provides opinions and proposals to the Federal Secretary for National Defense on questions within the working remit of this secretariat and especially on questions relating to the build up, development, and equipping of the armed forces and the development of the doctrine of all people's defense and the strategy of armed struggle. There was no discussion at the meeting about some plan of action for 'defense against special war in Slovenia.' The meeting of the Military Council took place at a time of very intensive discussion and assessments of articles on the conception of all-people's defense and the YPA. Thus, at the meeting of the Military Council, these questions were discussed. In addition, the public media published a report on this, which went out via TANJUG."

The statement goes on to say: "The Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs of the SR of Slovenia and the Ljubljana Army District Command are collaborating and coordinating their work in performance of joint tasks arising out of the law on all-people's defense and social self-protection and the law on internal affairs and other regulations. Thus, at the meeting which, on the initiative of the Ljubljana Army District Command, was held in March this year, representatives of both organs also discussed the content of the statement from the session of the Military Council in which, among other things, there are the assessments 'that this is a matter of a special war and likewise that the editorial boards of individual newspapers and magazines did not start it, but that these editorial boards are merely an operative factor.' Representatives of the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs drew attention to the fact that they do not have at their disposal data that would justify these assessments nor data that subversive forces are behind this writing in a section of the Slovene press. They considered that such assessments have a detrimental effect on the political situation in Slovenia.

"The representatives of the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs of the SR of Slovenia and the Ljubljana Army District Command have familiarized the Slovene Presidency and the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium with the discussion and assessments made at that meeting. The Presidium and the Presidency acted in accordance with their function, in other words, their political role. The Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium expressed its disagremment with some of the assessments made explicit at the Military Council and also at the session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. It explained its stance with standpoints that were adopted by the Slovene LC Central Committee at its 17th session on 18 March this year and that were published in the public information media.

"Involvement in resolving significant social questions, including defense and security, is a legitimate and constituent part of the social activity of individuals and institutions and thus also of the public media. The advocacy of this (?has a social purpose), to the extent to which they are responsible and do not provoke unnecessary disagreements and manipulation of the public," the statement of the Slovene Republican Committee for Information says.

## FEC Endorses Stand on Draft Amendments

*LD2105045988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1527 GMT 20 May 88*

[Text] Belgrade, 20 May (TANJUG)—The FEC, at today's session, endorsed the stands on the provisions of the draft amendments to the SFRY Constitution, which refer to the socioeconomic system, the foundations of the political system, and relations in the federation, and which are directly connected to socioeconomic relations. The stands are based, announces the Federal Secretariat for Information, on orientations established on the basis of discussions held at sessions of the FEC Economic Reform Commission.

The FEC will submit the stands to the SFRY Assembly's Commission for Constitutional Questions.

## BORBA Comments on FEC Confidence Vote

*AU2105195988 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 May 88 p 2*

[Dragoljub Zarkovic commentary: "Alarm Clock for the Last Train"]

[Text] Nothing will ever be the same after last weekend: The power holders will not sleep easily, the people even less, and the history of socialism, which involves a considerable period of time, has been marked with an event that, at the time of general "restructuring" [Russian word "perestroyka" used] may return to Yugoslavia its prestige in a world that does not regard politicians as God-given torchbearers. It is unusual in a socialist society that telling jokes about executive power is transformed into a question of confidence.

This government, formed by Branko Mikulic, was given a vote of confidence after a stormy discussion, clashes of interests and of facts—and even those who roughly defended the government did not treat it kindly—but the fact remains that a vote was taken in a house of the people, and that the government stayed in power thanks to a majority. It could fall in the same way, in contrast to the governments that until this day, in the social system of a "transitional period," have fallen only according to the will of the "great leader," be that one man or a collective body.

Thus, the FEC stayed, but the difficulties are yet to come.

One should believe Mikulic's frank statement that "he has more fear of what is in store for him if he gets the vote of confidence than if the delegates refuse to give him that vote." Now the working people have seen that the same applies to them: Laws are immediately passed that will reduce all forms of expenditure and even income, while all measures that should revive production and make structural changes possible are left for the future and will depend to a considerable extent on the goodwill of the foreign creditors, led by the IMF. For comprehending the crux of this matter, it is not all that essential that this will happen in 10 to 15 days, as expected, because the symbolism is clear: People will find it very difficult.

Every government and even authority in general, in conditions where the only thing that is guaranteed to the working world is that it will live even worse today for the sake of a better tomorrow, must count on social tension,

and even eruptions of dissatisfaction. In line with this, it must count on the fact that there will no longer be untouchables either in the FEC or in the party and state bodies and organs.

This time the FEC was "on the table," but it is obvious that because of the measures that have been taken, the time of the "peaceful slumber" of the republican and provincial executive authorities has past. These authorities have, in the general deliberation over the efficiency of the creators of the economic policy, been passed over without a single critical comment—as if the FEC were guilty of everything—which only proves that they have a warped view in assessing their own efficiency and their expectations of others.

Of course, this all has wider significance. This latest assembly deliberation would therefore have to have the role of an "alarm clock" for those comrades at the top who, in the words of Zdravko Zabukovec, have "stopped the clock in the forties and did not comprehend 1950 and the guidelines that were adopted then. Neither did they comprehend the need to realize self-managing social trends and to urgently grant more autonomy to economic factors...."

Nothing can shake dogmatists out of their slumber more effectively than noise that starts under their window. The time for peaceful sleep has been left behind, we hope, never to return. All the reforms in socialism have failed the same test: social peace at any price for the sake of preserving power. Now, however, one should be realistic and should remember our experience of the time when a domestic idyllic atmosphere was being bought with foreign money. If these "fresh dollars" are "pumped" into consumption instead of production, agony can only be postponed, and the consequences will be catastrophic.

This must become clear both to the "north" and the "south," just as one should believe that the presently oft-cited "result," 6:2, is rather a reflection of the unhappy circumstances than of two kinds of conscience and two different visions of the future.

And even if it were so, one should even more quickly defrock the "ministers" of either the developed or the undeveloped regions, all those, who protecting some narrow self-interest, always make calculations at the expense of others. Only then it will be possible to carry out the reform, and at that time it will be of less importance whether or not these or some other people are in the FEC.

**Disapproval Voiced on Constitutional Amendments**
*LD1905210188 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1934 GMT 19 May 88*

[Text] Belgrade, May 19 (TANJUG)—One more dilemma has arisen in Yugoslavia's large-scale discussions on the amendments to the Federal Constitution. Voices of disapproval were heard against the amendments being introduced in two stages as Yugoslav Premier Branko Mikulic twice urged in the past few days.

The session of the Presidency of the Socialist Alliance [words indistinct] the coordinator of the public debate on changes of the 14-year-old Federal Constitution, cited the fact that 15 percent of Yugoslavia's 23 million population have expressed their views on the proposed amendments and that the leadership of the largest sociopolitical organization believed that the deadlines should not be extended and the adoption procedure divided.

On two occasions, in the Federal Assembly last Saturday and at Tuesday's session of the commission for the reform of the economic system, Premier Mikulic proposed that the amendments regarding the reform of economic relations be adopted by mid-September and the rest by November 29, the earlier proposed deadline. He assessed that the country's economy, which is in a profound crisis, will be able to prepare itself for the more serious impact of market laws starting from 1989 if the economic amendments are adopted earlier.

At the Socialist Alliance session, Vidoje Zarkovic, one of the 24 members of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) leadership, said that the proposal to divide the constitutional procedure into two stages was unacceptable.

Zarkovic assessed that Mikulic's proposal was anticonstitutional and that it was overlooking the fact that the reform of the economic system could not be separated from the reform of the political system.

Most of the representatives of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia were of the same opinion.

The representative of the most developed Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia, Joze Smole, however, supported Mikulic's proposal and recalled that the Slovenian Assembly earlier urged that not a "package" of amendments should be adopted, but only those amendments on which all eight territorial units of the country agreed on.

The Yugoslav Chamber of the Economy today also supported the Federal Government's initiative to accelerate the procedure of adopting the constitutional amendments. The chamber maintains that the genuine transition to market economy will not be possible without radical changes of the economic system and corresponding constitutional solutions.

The Socialist Alliance Presidency today also set out that the constitutional changes proposed by the State Presidency in late 1986 were "not in accordance with the depth of the crisis," especially in the field of socioeconomic relations, since they did not guarantee a shift to market economy.